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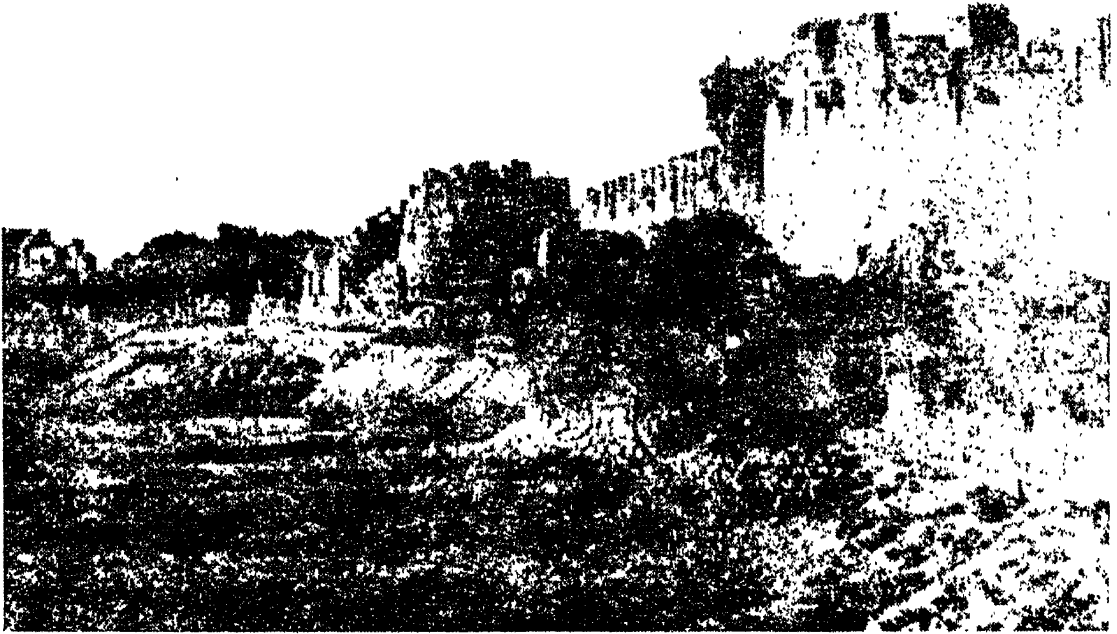
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MEDIEVAL HISTORY OF THE DECCAN VOL. II

BY

Sri S. K. Sinha, I. A. S.,
Director of Commerce and Export Promotion.
Andhra Pradesh, Hyderabad,

GENERAL EDITOR

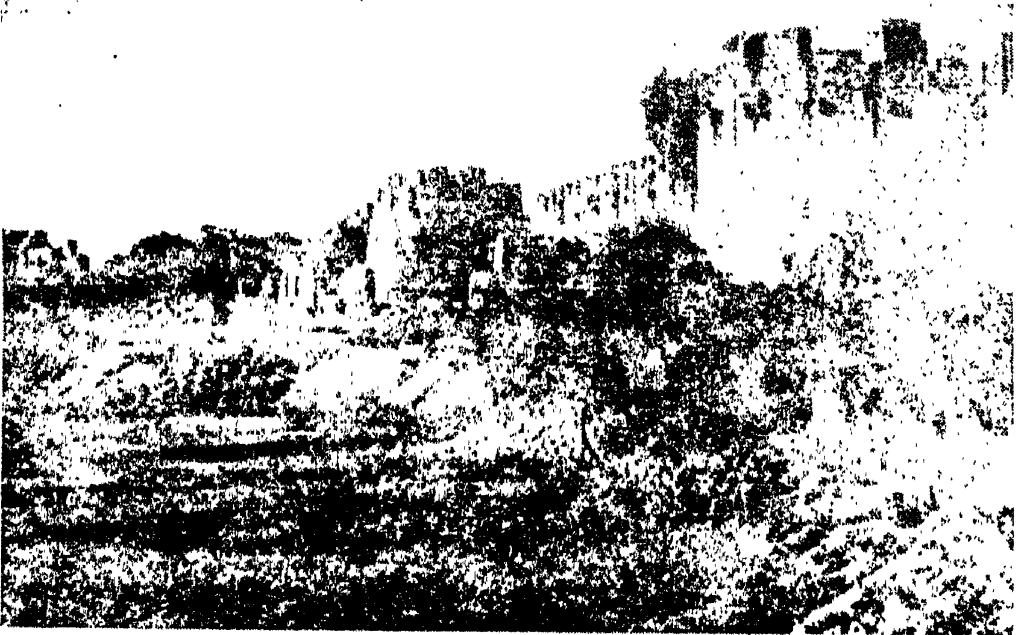
Mohd. Abdul Waheed Khan, F.R.A.S. (London),
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FOREWORD

The various parts of Karnataka had given rise to and nurtured extensive and powerful kingdoms which played, at several times, decisive roles in the history of India. They made also exceedingly brilliant contributions to our cultural heritage. The Adil Shahs of Bijapur had organised a vigorous rule embracing a large part of the Deccan, in a crucial period. Some of them were celebrated patrons of arts and architecture and have left behind magnificent monuments like the Gol Gumbad, Ibrahim Roza and Jame Masjid, which have attained world renown for their superb workmanship, engineering skill and immensity of structure. India is rightly proud of them.

Any attempt to add to our knowledge of those eventful times would be welcome. But it is essential that the treatment should be entirely objective, couched in temperate language looking upon all facts as sacred and giving an integrated picture. Then only, a historical work would help to appreciate the panorama of the past correctly and to profit by it.

There is a wholesome tradition of academic literary and histrionic pursuits in spare time among quite a few of our citizens and it needs to be encouraged and kept up. For busy officers, who have to grapple with many knotty administrative problems, scholarship is by no means an easy 'hobby' to cultivate and it demands tireless efforts,

besides an acumen of a high order. It would be much more so in the present days because of the stupendous developmental programmes which call for a great deal of energy and drive on the part of the officers. As such, the venture of Shri S. K. Sinha, who is a senior Officer of the Indian Administrative Service, into the academic domain can be said to be commendable. The success of his earlier book on the Bhamanis has encouraged the author to venture on the present Volume. I hope many more publications in this series will flow from his pen and I wish his endeavour to be fruitful. I am also happy to know that the Government of a sister State is publishing this book on the Adil Shahs, the main scene of whose activities was Bijapur in Mysore State.

S. NIJALINGAPPA.

Chief Minister of Mysore.

AUTHOR'S PREFACE

There is colossal ignorance in the country about the history of South India and in particular, of the Deccan. Histories written by the British historians and later by the Indians, unwittingly perhaps, followed a certain set pattern. To them history of India was essentially the history of Northern India. If the Deccan or the South got mentioned in their narration, it was because of the northern raids in the South. This was unfortunate and even in spite of the big efforts made by Yazdani, Nilkantha Shastri, Iyengar and Abdul Majid Siddiqi, who wrote extensively on the Deccan and the South, very little attention is being paid even now in the recent publications to this subject. No history of India is complete unless it is a coordinated story of the North, the Deccan and the South. The story of the Northern India may be spectacular, but the history of the Deccan and the South is more substantial, both in content and contribution. Its cultural richness is more varied and exuberant, more in particular of the Deccan because it absorbed the best of the two worlds, the North and the South, and eventually produced what could be called the real Indian culture. At no time in Indian history the feeling of oneness was so important as at present—India should represent itself as one country, as beyond doubt it is, in spirit, story and substance. From out of a coordinative story of the North, South and the Deccan will emerge the true story of India. The lofty Himalayas and the rippling

waves of the ocean which make this country a sub-continent, a compact geographical unit, will substantiate this.

In presenting this second volume on the mediaeval period of the Deccan history I have made use of all the available sources, including the precious persian manuscripts of the British Museum. In the bibliography, I have mentioned all the sources I have used. Apart from the matter and material, I have also borrowed their photographs, designs, and bodily lifted the firmans and the market rates with the permission of the Government of A. P. My acknowledgements are due to them.

My thanks are also due to Professor Yusuf Husain Khan. Ex-Pro-Vice Chancellor of the Aligarh University and Dr. Joshi, Director of Archaeology, Bombay, who were both good enough to go through the manuscript and offer their valuable suggestions. My thanks are also due to the Oriental Institute, Prague, for affording me the facility to read through the micro-films of the manuscripts. My acknowledgements are also due to Mr. Cousens' 'Bijapur Architecture' from which have been drafted some of the plates appearing in Appendix VI. with the permission of the Govt. of India, Directorate General of Archaeology.

My thanks are also due to Mr. Joshi, the Senior Deputy General Manager of Heavy Engineering Corporation, Ranchi, who hailing from Bijapur went through the whole manuscript and offered very useful suggestions.

S. K. Sinha

P R E F A C E

The present publication of Sri S. K. Sinha, I. A. S., on the "Adil Shahis of Bijapur", one of the five important dynasties which came to power on the decline of the Bahmani kingdom, supply the long felt want of a fairly complete critical edition of the glorious period of the Adil Shahis of Bijapur. The author dealt the subject with enough talent and expertise and has taken a great care in gleaning the necessary information from epigraphical records, Contemporary literature and other sources to present an authentic account of this glorious period. It is highly gratifying to note that he has compiled in his work the requirements both of serious students and of the general reader, and an attempt has been made to present a complete picture of all such events as are necessarily be included in order to enable the students to acquire a thorough grasp of the subject. While minor details and scholastic discussions have generally been omitted.

It is our sense of pride in the virtue of our past and in the equipment of the present that alone is going to give us an outlook in life which goes a long way to promote harmonious blending. I quite agree with the opinion of the great savant late Dr. Pannikkar that so far as the past is concerned we must seperate the good from the bad, the healthy from unhealthy, the gold from the base and the grain from the chaff. It is then that our respect for the past acquires a substance which enables us to mould it to our present needs. It is only in this approach to the past and the present that we can build up healthy foundation for the future.

The above aspect has been fairly observed by the author in his present publication written with patience and assiduous perseverance,

as such serve as an accurate index to the great volume of work accomplished by him. The enlightened rulers of Bijapur were enthusiastic patrons of Art, Literature and Architecture and their courts had a galaxy of architects, calligraphists, illuminators and painters, hailing from different climes particularly from Persia and Western Asiatic countries.

The monuments left by them such as Ibrahim Rauza and Göl-gumbad are the most magnificent emblems of glorious civilization of our mother-land. They are the striking land marks of the Deccan brilliant past where the artistic talents of the Adilshahi epoch matches the grandeur and eminence of the design. Even in paintings a high standard was maintained. At rock bottom their culture was indubitably Indian.

I express my gratitude to Sri T. V. Raghavulu, Minister for Education, Sarvashri N. Ramesan, I. A. S. Secretary to Government, Finance, S. R. Rama Murthy, I A S. Secretary to Government Education to their generous support they have given me in implimenting the publication programme of this department. My thanks are due to Dr. N. Venkataramanaya, Sarvashri Khushal Raj, P. V. P. Sastry, R. Narayana, D. V. N. Murthy, P. S. Johnstone, P. R. Murthy, Syed Fakhruddin and V. Krishnaiah for reading the proofs and attending to the details with great care and circumspection.

My sincere thanks are due to the Proprietor of the Intekhab Press, Sri Abid Ali Khan, and his able staff for their hearty co-operation to print and publish this book in a handy and attractive form.

(Mohd Abdul Wahed Khan)
Director of Archaeology & Museums,
Hyderabad, A. P.

TO MY UNCLE RAI HARBANS CHAND,

a true embodiment of the Deccani culture. His love and affection recognized no frontiers. His modest scholarship, power and philanthropy, was a humble dedication to the suffering humanity—a passion some of us have proudly inherited.

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INTRODUCTION

Territorial expansion was almost a matter of faith with the mediaeval monarchies. One state plotted against the other, unleashing a long continuous course of rancorous strife and endless warfare. The entire mediaeval history of the world is offset with such orgies and irrevocable acrimonies. The tragedy involved was great, also obvious. But it did not sober the frivolity of the age. In fact, it gave rigour, a restless pine, an irresistible itch to cultivate the barbaric with animated zest and increasing enthusiasm. Territorial aggrandisement and the instinct to expand remained, for centuries, the cultivated faith and the religion of mankind.

Voltaire's "Candide" described the abyss in which the European society was hurled during the middle ages. Aggrandisement was the faith, each small or big state pursued a "foreign policy" of expansionism. Complicated still became the scene with religious wars, crusades first and later the aggressive feuds between the Catholics and the Protestants, aggressive alliances based on religious considerations.

Europe, unlike India, was not schooled in the rigorous discipline of tolerance. Its crusades against the Turks had written its mediaeval history in blood. Now the same intolerance plunged Europe into a Catholic versus Protestant war which dragged on for 30 years reducing "many parts of Central Europe into a wilderness, where the hungry peasants fought for the carcass of a dead horse with the even hungrier wolf. Five sixths of all the German towns and villages were destroyed. The Palatinate, in Western Germany was plundered twenty eight times. And a population of 18 million people was reduced to 4 millions."

Not different was the Russian scene. On the one side were the Eastern Russians, prostrate, annihilated and shocked by the Tartar

onslaughts. On the other were the Westerners armed with the Polish swords under the Lethuanian commanders. The two Russias stood face to face with each other and the conflict between the two is one of the most fascinating themes of the Russian history.

Travelling a little farther on the European canvas one finds people, becoming sick of these personal or religious wars. They suffered an irretrievable fate with aching limbs and swollen feet. Wars to them, in their dire poverty, denying them even two meals a day, had become a prolonged agony. And, therefore, when the idea to travel by seas to trade and find a new peaceful life of commerce in the overseas countries was mooted, it was received in an ecstatic trance, more as an escapade and a decisive economic palliative.

The Dutch, the Scandinavians, the Spanish, the Portuguese, the French and the British crossed the unexplored seas, and hit upon new areas in the name of expanding trade, mining and commerce. But in fact they only lengthened the dark shadows of their internal strife in Europe to overseas countries and plunged, one and all, in a rain of bloodshed and internecine warfare. How correct was H. G. Wells in admitting: "the wars of Europe extended themselves to these claims and possessions."

Thus, strife for expansion was the order of the day, the quintessence of the mediaeval history. In India, the situation was no different. Gone were the days of Akbar's peaceful coexistence. Gone were the times when the Rajputs in their almost solitary pristine glory were respected, tolerated and honoured. Their impudent annihilation and forcible merger in the Moghul dominions of Aurangzeb became almost a *fait accompli*, which did no good either to the Moghuls or to the country. The Rajputs were always the shield that protected the country from the piercing onslaughts of the foreigners. And the Moghuls, if they survived in India, it was because of the Rajputs.

In the Deccan, the three great Muslim states of Ahmednagar, Bijapur and Golkonda were always interlocked in their own inter-

necine wars. , Feeble were the affinities of religion, race or culture. Weaker still were the forces of unity. What ruled decisively was the cupidity of mankind, the insatiable warlust, the bankruptcy of political vision. Amidst their internal conflicts they did not even read the threats of a descending avalanche. In their petty sanguine quarrels, the beams of their eyes failed to see the streaks of lightening darting out from the dismal Moghul horizon. The apprehension of a common danger, the shrewdness to unite and combine vanished. And, therefore, prolonged warfare with the Moghuls on one side and on the other continuous internal conflict among themselves reduced the history of the Deccan, in line with the World's into a tale of sweat and toil, unending battle and ignoble bloodshed.

But battle and bloodshed was the hall-mark of the mediæval history. The Deccan was no exception. Every country, developed its own technique. The common feature, however, was that each one of them maintained a huge army, infantry, cavalry and artillery. Wallenstein is said to have had about 100,000 in pay. The rate of expansion increased and the British army during the Spanish war of succession reached the highest limit.

In India, the Moghul army under Aurangazeb was much larger than his predecessors. According to Sarkar, it was 2 lakh cavalry, 8000 Mansabdaris, 7000 Barqandaz, one lakh eighty five thousands princely troops and forty thousands infantry. The expenditure on his army was double of Shah Jahan's. Even relatively smaller states in the Deccan maintained big armies. Shivaji, at the time of his death, left 45,000 cavalry of his own, and one lakh infantry. Ibrahim Adil Shah left, according to his own chronicler, "a dependable army of 80,000 horses, 200,000 cavalry and 955 elephants."

The system of drawing a militia from the commoners was cruel, unscientific and thoroughly unreliable. Similarly, no state, in its proper perspective, could exclusively rely on the feudal lords to supply men, arms and ammunition at the needed hour. All over the world, therefore, the fashion was that every state had to maintain a standing army on its own muster-roll and under its direct control. Professor

Delbruck was of the opinion that the Spaniards were the first in Europe who maintained a big standing army. During the course of thirty-years-war, it is reported, that almost all the states maintained a fairly large standing force all the year round. When Peter the Great died he left a standing army of 200,000 in Russia.

In India and particularly in the Deccan every sovereign state maintained its own standing force. They, also, continued to draw men from the feudal lords, the Jagirdars and the Mansabdars. The Moghuls, in particular, found this more easy but made the Indian history to suffer the feudalistic exploitation and a stunted growth for a long time to come.

In the matter of army administration, uniform, formations, inspections and commands, the pattern varied from country to country. Yet even in the plethora of different practices obtaining in the world, one could get a glimpse of a certain emerging standardization of the international type.

In the Europe of the 16th and 17th century the emergence of a powerful navy is a development of fundamental importance. The age of discovery, as it is called, discovered new countries, new colonies, new habitations and new horizons. The countries which took part prominently in this game were England, Spain, France, Portugal and the Netherlands. Louis XIV had a sizeable navy. The English and the Dutch fought three wars on the sea from 1652-1654. The Dutch were also involved in a sea warfare with the Spanish. Thus, while the theatre of war in Europe was slowly being shifted to sea as a corollary to the dictum that he who commanded the sea, ruled the land, India remained oblivious even to having a navy. Infact South which had age-old traditions of sea, manufacturing the best of fleet and ship during the ancient Hindus and the time of the Bahmanids, sunk into inactivity. Their famous ship-building industry on the Eastern Coast at Masuli and Vizag fell into utter disuse and irreparable decay. Aurangzeb infuriated by the piracy committed by the Westerners on his Muslim pilgrims going to Mecca, thought of developing his own

Moghul navy. But like many of his plans, even this could not materialize though his religious promptings were strong and indelibly well written.

In the name of commerce the Portuguese, the Dutch and the English were already in the Indian ocean and the Bay of Bengal. They were in the process of gaining foot holds, everywhere, throwing out the Muslim Moors and the Arabs. The Portuguese were well entrenched in Goa; the English under the East India Company had established Madras in 1639, obtaining the exclusive maritime control of Calcutta from the Moghuls in 1690 and of Bombay from the Portuguese. The Dutch, however, along with the English traded in Surat and spread themselves in the South East Asia, while the French were consolidating themselves in the West Indies, Madagascar and in Pondicherry of India.

Expansion, thus, still ruled, In fact, it was slowly assuming international dimensions in the guise of an expanding trade or a militant commerce at the expense of people, who in their age-long slavery, had shed even the semblance of self-respect and to whom one master was no worse than the other.

The world history, thus, became a more persistent and vigorous attack on the freedom of the people, on their urge to grow faster and develop their personality to become conducive for the welfare of mankind. In the name of liberty, equality and fraternity Napoleon lodged himself in France as a saviour-monarch whose love was to crush others, and to spare none. The British mother to her indisciplined child would mention the name of Bonaparte and lull him to sleep lest he is breakfasted next day. In England, however, monarchy managed to survive in a distorted check-and-balances-form with the divine right of kingship yet sustaining itself as the accepted legacy of the past.

Still, what differentiated India with the West was the fact that the whole of Asia was engrossed in internal rivalry and the massacre of the individual at the hands of monarchy and the privileged.

To annotate, historically, Aurangzeb poisoned his father, killed his brothers and murdered his sisters and issued royal firmans subjecting the Hindus to the Koranic faith. He prohibited music and destroyed the best of paintings and sculptures, tabooed poetry and prose and prohibited the writing of history. In the West, on the other hand, along with the rivalries was growing fast the common man, who asserted in all fields—the science, literature, political and economic philosophy, art, architecture, painting, sculpture and music. In the field of science, printing press was disseminating knowledge. Newton and Galileo were living problems for every thinking man—Shakespeare, Bacon, Ben Jonson and Moliere were the greatest of the literary products of Renaissance. In America was born the revolution which gave them the real freedom with Washington and Franklin as the prophets of democracy. In Europe however, political philosophy was being evolved by great thinkers and philosophers of the world like Voltaire, Spinoza, Kant and Goethe. On the lighter side, it was also the age of Bach and Mozart, the accepted gods of Western music.

The Deccan was a shade better than the North India of Aurangzeb for the Moghuls had failed on every front. Their agrarian policies were in a fiasco, all that they knew was to exploit the peasants without giving them assistance of any kind. Akbar had 1/3 of his gross produce as the revenue assessment. Shah Jehan made it half and Aurangzeb perhaps had more. Akbar's collections were Rs. 13.21 crores; of Shah Jehan was Rs. 22.50 crores and of Aurangzeb Rs. 38.68 crores. While, the Deccan Sultan continued with the Hindu traditions and levied a lower rate of revenue assessment which was 1/6 of the gross produce, besides, providing the agriculture all assistance in the maintenance and construction of minor and major irrigation tanks. The Deccan Sultans retained the village as an independent local-self-governing unit and respected it while the Moghuls tampered and disfigured it beyond recognition. Even in their wars, the Deccan sultans as far as possible in accordance with the ancient Hindu tradition, though not respected by Vijayanagar Kings and Shivaji, left the country-side unaffected and unmolested. But, the Moghuls in the Northern India

and all in the Western Europe made a desolation of even a small, poor surviving village.

On the religious front, when in the Western Europe wars were being waged between the Catholics and the Protestants of the same Bible; when in the northern India the Moghuls were crusading against the Hindus, demolishing the Hindu shrines and constructing mosques in their places, forcing the Hindu subjects through the economic sanctions of Jizya to accept islam, and by making them pay through their life if they married a muslim girl, the Deccan was building up amity and close friendship between the different cultures. The Hindus and the muslims had developed an abiding respect for other's faith and religion, even for the religious customs and rituals. In Moharam all the subjects practised abstinence, while on "Nav Roz" and "Basant" they would really beat it up. The Jagat guru, Ibrahim, worshipped the Hindu Goddess as much as he bowed down and prayed in his mosque. Shoulders above the narrow sectarian Moghuls, the Deccan sultans, whether in Bijapur, Golkonda or Ahmednagar, positively exerted themselves in bringing the divergent faiths together, like in a chain of different beads. In this attempt and endeavour they abstained from the imposition of "Jazya"; they refrained from conversion or the demolition of Hindu shrines: they married Hindus and allowed the Hindus to marry the Muslims; respected genially and participated in the Hindu customs, religious festivals, music, dance and fine arts. Above all, they patronised both the local languages and the common *Lingua Franca*, Urdu, with an overwhelming flavour of the local languages and the Brijbhasha. In this language they produced exquisite poetry and prose and those who could do likewise, received their ample patronage and bounteous favours. In Bijapur were born Ibrahim of "Nauras" and Mian Nusrati, while, in Golkonda, Md. Quli Qutb Shah, Wajahi and many others. In their sombre, indomitable way, all these poets adorned Urdu with an animated zest and a dedicated affection.

Thus, when religious acrimonies and sectarian prejudices ruled the world, in the Deccan there grew up a band of honest and earnest

men who carried on a campaign against hatred intolerance and the recognized social abuses of mankind. Their attack was frontal but rational, precise and strong. And, therefore, the regulative, progressive forces of the Hindu society received them with an open mind and thus, in the Deccan was created a composite society, a mixed, rich, exuberant culture of an expanding world, of one people, the ultimate goal of human life.

CHAPTER ONE

The Adil Shahi Dynasty - its birth.

Yusuf Adil Shah

(1489 AD—1510 AD) The founder of the Adilshahy dynasty which ruled over the kingdom of Bijapur from 1489 A. D. to 1685 A D. was Yusuf Adil Khan. Ferishta mentions that Yusuf Adil Khan was the son of one of the Emperors of Rome in Asia Minor. His father was Agha Morad.ⁱ When Agha Morad was succeeded by his eldest son Mohammed, it was decided by the Council of Ministers that, in order to have an uninterrupted reign, it was necessary that only the king should live and his brothers killed. Yusuf Adil Khan, who was the younger brother of Mohammed, was therefore, ordered to be put to death. Yusuf's mother, to save her son's life, bought a Circassian boy to replace her son from one Khwaja Imaduddin, a merchant of Sava.ⁱⁱ This Circassian boy bore strong resemblance to Yusuf Adil Khan, while Yusuf Adil Khan was passed over to this merchant with lot of money to bring him up. Khwaja Imaduddin carried the young prince to the city of Sava and brought him up with great care. Yusuf remained at Sava till he was 16 years old, when his nurse, inadvertently, divulged the secret of his birth.ⁱⁱⁱ Anticipating trouble Yusuf, therefore, proceeded to Kashan, Isfahan and Shiraz and then to the Bahmini port, Dabul, in the Deccan. The name of the Bahminids was well known in Iran and this evidently

i. Basatin-ul-Salatin by Ibrahim Zubairi (Persian) Hyderabad edition p. 5.

ii. *ibid.* p. 6

iii. *ibid.* p. 7

must have prompted Yusuf Adil Khan to turn towards the Bahmini court where he was well received. He was employed as an officer in charge of stables.

The above account detailed by Ferishta ⁽ⁱ⁾ appears to have been passed on to him by two of his contemporaries Mirza Mohamed of Sava and by Khwaja Nuzr, a member of the Bahmini family. Ferishta also mentions that this story was related by Shah Jamaluddin Hussain in his history.

Rafiuddin Shirazi, the author of Tazkirat-ul-Muluk, however, mentions a different story. In his opinion, Yusuf Adil Khan was the nephew of Ahmed Baig, the Governor of Sava. Ahmed Baig was succeeded by Mohamed Baig who was killed in a battle. Yusuf Adil Khan was Mohamed Baig's son, who after the death of his father exasperated by consequent events, left Baghdad and arrived in the Deccan in 1463 A.D. Some historians of the Deccan consider the above version as more plausible. ⁽ⁱⁱ⁾

The early life of Yusuf Adil Khan, as has been mentioned, passed in Sava. Khwaja Imaduddin, who is supposed to have carried the prince to Sava, bestowed all his attention on the education of this prince. Besides to religious education, Yusuf was trained in swordsmanship, archery and leadership. It was this early training which stood him in good stead and in the Bahmini court he was soon able to make a mark for himself.

“Basatin” ⁽ⁱⁱⁱ⁾ mentions that during that period there used to be great fondness for wrestling. Famous

(i) Ferishta by Brigg - pp. 4 - 7.

(ii) Mukhadamai Tarik-i-Deccan by Siddiqi - p. 66.

(iii) Basatin - p. 11.

wrestlers flocked to Bidar from all sides. Every Friday, the Bahmini Sultan would witness the wrestling matches in Bidar. Yusuf Adil Khan was an expert wrestler and threw a challenge to the best in the domain. The challenge was accepted and the king appeared to witness this. With great skill, grace and technique, Yusuf threw his opponent over board and won the bout. The King was greatly pleased and awarded presents and honour to Yusuf, who slowly worked up his way to become the Sadr Kotwal of Bidar. ⁽ⁱ⁾

In 1468 A.D. Mohammed Shah ordered Nizam-ul-Mulk, the Governor of Berar, to invade Kherala. Kherala was an important fortress under the possession of the king of Malwa. Nizam-ul-mulk took along with him Yusuf Adil Khan who laid the siege of this fort. A very fierce battle ensued between the Decanees and Malwees; victory fell to the lot of the Decanees. In this battle, perhaps, for the first time Yusuf Adil Khan displayed great valour, leadership and tact. Incidentally, the Malwa army was composed of Afghans and Rajputs, and two of the Rajput soldiers of the annihilated army requested audience with Nizam-ul-mulk. They said that they wanted to kiss the feet of the victorious Governor. Their request was granted and while kissing the feet they hurled the dagger and killed Nizam-ul-mulk instantaneously. Along with the valuable booty, therefore, Yusuf Adil Khan had to carry the corpse of Nizam-ul-mulk. The Bahmani king, however, showed great appreciation of the valour and leadership of Yusuf Adil Khan in the battle of Kherala and raised him to the rank of a Commander of 1000 horses and conferred Jagirs on him.

(i) Basatin p. 11.

What raised Yusuf Adil Khan in the estimation of the Bahmani King more was his conquest of Wyragur, Antur, and the fort of Ranjny. Yusuf Adil Khan collected lot of booty during these campaigns and laid it before the King. Impressed by Yusuf Adil Khan's performance Mohammed Shah directed Khwaja Mahamud Gawan, his Prime Minister, to entertain Yusuf Adil Khan for a week at his own house. This was complied with and on the 8th day, Mohammed Shah himself proceeded to Gawan's house to participate in the festivities. It is mentioned by Ferishta that the Bahmani King showed rare honour to Yusuf Adil Khan by drinking wine with him.

During the reign by Mohammed Shah Bahmini Kingdom expanded on all the sides. Prior to him the Kingdom was composed of 4 provinces, namely, Warangal, Gulbarga, Daulatabad and Berar. With the addition of new territories the old set up became unwieldy and, therefore, Mahamud Gawan created 4 more additional provinces and reorganised the State. The 8 provinces thus created were Gavul, Mahoor, Daulatabad, Goa, Bijapur, Gulbarga, Telangana East and West. In this new adjustment Yusuf Adil Khan was made the Governor of Daulatabad.

Since the day Yusuf Adil Khan landed in the Deccan, Gawan had shown kindness to him. He encouraged him and patronised him to the extent possible.

For saner counsels Yusuf Adil Khan was Gawan's adviser. It appears that Yusuf Adil Khan was one of those who advised Gawan not to appear before the King before his assassination took place.

Mohammed Shah Third was succeeded by Mahmud Shah Bahmini, who ruled from 1482 A. D. to 1518 A. D. Mahmud Shah's reign was nothing but a series of internal feuds and civil wars portending the downfall of the great Bahmani Kingdom. Mahmud Shah, essentially, was a tool in the hands of Nizam-ul-mulk Bahri, who did not favour Yusuf Adil Khan. Nizam-ul-mulk made an attempt to oust Yusuf Adil Khan. But Yusuf was also clever enough to play his cards in a way that he retained his governorship. Nizam-ul-mulk issued an order removing Yusuf Adil Khan and replacing him by Ahmed Khan Deccani. Yusuf Adil was well prepared as he had anticipated this and, therefore, he decided to settle this issue in a battle field. For 20 days, the armies of Yusuf and Nizam-ul-mulk met in the streets of Bidar and due to the interference of some of the nobles, they separated to maintain the *status quo*. Yusuf Adil Khan returned to Bijapur.

A Jagirdar named Zeinuddin had become turbulent. Nizam-ul-mulk, therefore, commanded his son and the Governor of Purenda to march and reduce Zeinuddin. Zeinuddin, on the other hand, requested for assistance from Yusuf Adil Khan, who sent 6000 horses, but it appears that no event took place.

Mahmud Shah's reign, as has been said above was a period of gross anarchy. Mulik Ahmed Bahri, son of Nizam-ul-mulk who was Governor of Ahmednagar, was the first to realise that the Bahmini Empire was tottering and it was beyond any human power to save this falling tower. He, therefore, declared his independence and instigated Yusuf Adil Khan to follow him. Yusuf Adil, however, remained considerate and desisted from raising the standard of revolt. On the contrary, his anxiety all along was to

help the Shah in the best manner possible to restore order in his Kingdom. He helped the King to defeat Dastur Dinar and put down his rebellion. He humbled Kasim Barid to restore power and strength of Mahmud Shah. But, as time passed, he also became convinced that the breach in the Bahmani citadel was irreparable. This being the case, on some pretext or the other, he attacked Dastur Dinar and occupied some of his districts. Thus, when he had made Bijapur a viable state, he assumed the title of Shah and caused the Khutba to be read in his name in 1489 A. D.⁽ⁱ⁾

Mahmud Shah was infuriated at this show of independence and with the help of Amir Barid, Qutub-ul-mulk and Mulik Ahmed attacked Yusuf Adil Shah. Yusuf Adil Shah defeated the Royal forces but allowed the King to return to Bidar in honour.

In the neighbouring Kingdom of Vijaynagar, all was not well. Nuniz's detailed account of this period indicates that the ruling King Virupaksha was weak and unworthy. He was also too cruel and despotic. His eldest son murdered him, who, in turn, was again murdered by his brother. Disgusted with the chaotic conditions prevailing in Vijaynagar, the nobles and the army chose Narasimha to rule them as the Vijaynagar King. Nuniz writes that Narasimha was loved by all. Narasimha and his son Basava Raya ruled the Vijayanagar Empire till the accession of Krishna Deva Raya in 1509 A. D.

(i) Ferishta. Briggs. Vol. III p. 9.

This is in accordance with Ferishta. But quite a few historians do not agree with this date. They are of the opinion that Yusuf Adil, out of his consideration for the Bahmini House, was the last to declare his independence. The fact, however, remains that whether Yusuf Adil formerly declared himself a King or not, all through the reign of Mahmud Shah, because of the turmoil and chaos, Yusuf Adil Khan was consolidating his position in Bijapur and for all purposes reigned his small kingdom in an independent manner.

Ferishta's account that Yusuf Adil encountered the Vijayanagar army in 1493 in which the Raya was severely wounded and died on the way soon after which the Heem Raja seized the throne, is not supported by any other documentation.⁽¹⁾

It, however, appears that Kasim Barid invited Narasimha to invade the territories of Bijapur. Narasimha crossed the Tungabhadra with large army and after laying waste the country seized the two cities of Mudkal and Raichur. In 1493 A. D. Yusuf Adil Shah, therefore, marched against the Vijayanagar King to recover Mudkal and Raichur. Yusuf Adil had relatively a small army when compared to Raya's. Ferishta's account that on the pretext of having a conference to sue for peace with the Vijayanagar King, Yusuf Adil Shah attacked him fiercely and completely routed the Vijayanagar army, seem credible. Yusuf Adil thus recovered Mudkal and Raichur.

Bahadur Gelani, at the instigation of Kasim Barid reduced the fortress of Jamkhandi, belonging to the Bijapur Kingdom. In the meanwhile, it appears, that the King of Gujarat complained to Mahmud Shah Bahmini against the activities of Bahadur Gelani, who was intercepting the maritime trade of Gujarat. Mahmud Shah, therefore, marched in person against Bahadur Gelani and asked for assistance from Yusuf Adil Khan. Yusuf Adil Shah offered necessary assistance and it appears that Bahadur Gelani was defeated and slain in the battle and the fortress of Jamkhandi was handed over back to Adil Shah.

A year later, a more decisive event took place between Dastur Dinar and Yusuf Adil Khan. In

(i) - A Forgotten Empire by Sewell p. 107-111.

collaboration with Mulik Ahmed Bahri, Sultan Quli Qutb Shah and Imad-ul-mulk of Birar, it was decided that Yusuf Adil Shah should completely annihilate Dastur Dinar and conquer the entire domain under the Gulbarga governorship. Gulbarga was to be partitioned in such a way that all the three got contiguous areas to be annexed to their States. With this understanding Yusuf Adil Shah marched with his forces. Dastur Dinar had advance intelligence of this conspiracy and with the assistance of the Governor of Purenda, he got ready to face the confederacy. In addition, he had also obtained assistance from Amir Barid. Ferishta gives quite a few details about the battle that took place between the two contending forces. Yusuf Adil Khan, true to his tradition, advanced with the 'velocity of lightning' and killed Dastur Dinar whose troops fled, overwhelmed with terror. Yusuf's foster brother Ghazanfar Baig who was the hero of this battle received a fatal wound and succumbed to it after three days. Gulbarga, Sagar and other forts were annexed to Bijapur while the other areas were parcelled out, as decided previously.

No less important was another event which raised the prestige of Yusuf Adil Khan considerably. In the year 1497 Mahmud Shah Bahmini married his son to the youngest daughter of Yusuf Adil Khan, Bibi Mazeeti.⁽ⁱ⁾

The consolidation of the Bijapur Kingdom undertaken by Yusuf Adil Shah was almost complete now. Dastur Dinar had been completely annihilated, a perfect understanding had been reached with the adjoining Kingdoms of Ahmednagar and Telangana. Accounts had been settled with the Vijayanagar Empire

(i) Basatin. page 22. Name mentioned Bibi Saffi.

and Goa was annexed to the Bijapur Kingdom. This being the position, Yusuf Adil Khan turned his attention to peaceful pursuits of religion and development. On the religious side, Yusuf Adil Khan, being a Shia, felt proud that he was able to establish the first Shia State in the Deccan. He, therefore, decided to read Khutba according to the ceremonies of Shias. On an appointed day he went to the grand mosque of Bijapur and Khutba was read in the name of 12 Imams. Ferishta rightly mentions, "Yusuf Adil Shah was the first prince who dared to perform these ceremonies publicly in Hindustan." But at no stage did Yusuf Adil Khan forced his doctrine on others of sunni sect. When he was informed that some of his Sunni officers were reluctant to accept his faith, he remarked that each person had the right to adopt any faith he liked, "my faith for myself and yours for you."

Mulik Ahmed Bahri and Amir Barid, who were devout sunnies were annoyed by the introduction of Shiaism in Bijapur. Forming an alliance, they invaded the territory of Yusuf Adil Shah. Amir Barid conquered Ganjoti and some of the adjoining areas while Mulik Ahmed Bahri demanded the surrender of the Nuldrug fort. Curiously enough, the combined armies again were headed by Mahmud Shah Bahmini. Amir Barid also received assistance from the Telangana King, Quli Qutb Shah. Yusuf Adil Shah found it unwise to encounter these combined forces. He, therefore, commenced his attack from Bidar, ran over Daulatabad and entered into Bidar. The combined forces, therefore, had to be detached from Bijapur territory and were put on the way of Yusuf Adil Shah's advance. Imadul Mulk of Berar whose help was sought by Yusuf Adil Shah agreed to intercede and create dissensions in the combined forces of Mahmud Shah Bahmini. Mulik Ahmed Bahri

and Sultan Quli Qutb Shah who paid great respect to Imadul Mulk were convinced by him that it was Amir Barid who, on the pretext of religion, designed to destroy Yusuf Adil Shah. They, therefore, detached themselves from this confederacy and returned to their dominions. Amir Barid was unnerved at this sudden change and thought it fit to return to Bidar along with Mahmud Shah.

Verthema has left a valuable account of the condition of Bijapur thus :

“ The city, encircled by a fortress, contains beautiful and majestic mansions. The King is powerful and prosperous but egoism informs his general behaviour. 44 chambers have to be crossed before one can meet the King in his palace. Many of the King’s retinue wear shoes studded with precious stones on the inside. The King has a big fleet of ships. He hates Christians. From Goa, Bijapur gets an annual tribute of 10;000 golds coins. The King entertains foreigners in military service but before appointing them he forces them to pass the boxing and physical test.”

Barbosa, a Portuguese traveller who was in Karnatak from 1500 A. D. to 1514 A. D. has left the following account :-

“ Yusuf Adil Shah once thought of having his Capital at Goa. Even now, he frequently goes to Goa where land merchant ships from Mecca, Aden and Ormez etc. Goa is a big town with beautiful mansions, fine roads, temples and churches. The King has splendid ships and has cast guns in iron and brass. The flourishing

agriculture gives Bijapur bumper crops in Yusuf's Kingdom. There is prosperous inland trade. The Hindu soldiers are of blackish complexion but very strong and brave. They are skilled archers and go to battle equipped with swords and shields and bows and arrows."

Vasco-Da-Gama's visit to Calicut in 1498 A.D. had created lot of interest in the King of Portugal, King John, who started conceiving of plans to get into South India. Vasco-Da-Gama returned to India in 1504 A. D. and bombarded the city of Calicut and established a factory at Cochin. In 1505 A.D. Almeida was appointed Viceroy of the King of Portugal on the Indian coast. While the Portuguese were concentrating mainly on Calicut and further south, they had shown lot of interest in Goa. Albuquerque attacked Goa and occupied it temporarily. ⁽ⁱ⁾ Yusuf Adil Shah, although he was old and infirm, rushed with his army and regained Goa. ⁽ⁱⁱ⁾

Yusuf Adil Shah was 75 years in age. Continuous warfare during his regime of 21 years had left him completely exhausted. He died in 1510. ⁽ⁱⁱⁱ⁾

Yusuf Adil Shah, though a devout Shia was not intolerant of other faiths. His treatment of the Hindus, whom he ruled for so long was exemplary. In fact, his wife was a Maharatta, sister of Mukund Rao. He had only his wife and his son, who succeeded him, was born of her.

- (i) It is mentioned that this attack was instigated by the Raya of Vijayanagar in order to divert the attention of the Portuguese from Calicut-Report by Danvers - p. 4
- (ii) Report by Danvers mentions 20th May, 1510 A. D.
- (iii) Tazkirat-ul-mulk mentions that Yusuf Adil Shah was murdered by one of the servants of Ali Barid. Tabkhat-i-Akbari mentions the date of his death as 913 H; Ferishta 916 H; and Rafiuddin Shirazi 925 H.

Yusuf Adil Shah was a wise king. A man of learning, he wrote eloquently and composed poetry. He was very fond of the company of learned men, whom he invited from all corners of the world. He evinced great interest in music. Ferishta mentions that he even played on two or three instruments admirably.

He evinced great interest in architecture. He is responsible for building the citadel of Bijapur. ⁽ⁱ⁾ Ferishta mentions that a fort built in mud stood at the site of this citadel. This was obviously not enough of a protection and, therefore, Yusuf Adil Shah built the walls of the fort in solid stone masonry. He enclosed an area of 42 acres which later on became overcrowded with constructions undertaken by the subsequent Kings. An inscription on the outside of the citadel wall (south-east) reads as follows :-

“ The marking of the date was this which the meanest humble individual has composed : In Jumada the 2nd month last year 920 (A.D. 1514). Having been ordered to fortify this said citadel by auspicious exalted favour and blessings the fortification.. . . . he considered again and established it by the high command of His Majesty exalted Adil Khan son of Adil Khan Ali ⁽ⁱⁱ⁾ may Allah perpetuate his monarchy. By order..... the bastion and citadel ” ⁽ⁱⁱⁱ⁾

(i) Ferishta - Briggs - Vol. I p. 140, Basatin - p. 22.

(ii) Adil Khan son and Adil Khan Ali is rather intriguing. The date given corresponds to the reign of Ibrahim Adil Shah. The inference, therefore, would be that the work commenced in Yusuf Adil Shah's reign but got completed soon after his death.

(iii) Notes on the Buildings and Other Antiquarian Remains at Bijapur by Rehat-Sek.

Well laid out, properly planned, Bijapur was the making of the King. Within the city, he planned out three big gardens and encouraged all his nobles and officers to construct their houses according to a certain design. He introduced cultivation of gardens on an extensive scale in Bijapur and for this purpose he built a canal to feed them. It was he who built forts at Bihar, Ahmednagar 1468 A. D., Sholapur 1478 A. D., Belgam 1481 A.D., Purandar 1482 A.D., Miraj 1483 A.D. as also the fort of Bankapur. ⁽ⁱ⁾ He also built Faroukh Mahal in the citadel.

Yusuf Adil, as his name denotes, was handsome, tall and well built. His was an attractive personality which commanded respect and reverence. Ferishta's lavish praise that whenever he went out he attracted large crowds may not be altogether incorrect.

Yusuf Adil, like all the Kings of the mediaeval ages, was not free from the common faults and follies. His addiction to wine and women, his fondness for revelry and leisure has been adversely commented upon by Ferishta. Bilgrami, however, stigmatizes him for being an ardent Shia as otherwise, he had every chance of inheriting the whole of the Bahmini dominions. The present author does not agree with either denunciation. Yusuf Adil may have been fond of wine and women, but in the larger background of the world history these were inconsequential and definitely of no importance. These personal afflictions, if they could be termed as such, did neither interfere with the course of Adil Shahi history nor did they tamper the ends of administration.

Similarly, it is unthinkable that the Bahmini dominions would have fallen in the lap of Yusuf Adil

(i) Basatin, pp. 22, 23.

like a ripe fruit if only he had not demonstrated his strong inclination for the Shia faith. At a time when each governor of the Bahmini dominions was accosted with his own little kingdom, infantile religious factors hardly counted. They acted a very insignificant role either to subvert the dissolution of the Bahmani Empire or little did the Shia-Sunny rivalry affect the course of events. History, at that time, was primarily guided by political rather than religious considerations. And, therefore, with all the faults and failing ascribed, Yusuf Adil was still the founder of an illustrious house that ruled Bijapur for a long time. With admirable courage and conviction, the solid foundation laid by Yusuf Adil helped in building up the fabric of the Adil Shahi governance which in many conceivable ways, set a pattern not only for the Deccan in particular but also for the country in general.

CHAPTER II.

The Adil Shahi Dynasty-its struggle for existence.

Ismail Adil Shah

(1510 AD to 1534 AD)

Bilgrami mentions that Yusuf Adil Shah had no issue⁽ⁱ⁾ and that Ismail was the son of his brother. This is not supported by Ferista or any other authority on this period. In fact it has been established that Yusuf Adil Shah had one son Ismail and three daughters.⁽ⁱⁱ⁾

Soon after the death of Yusuf Adil Shah, Ismail Adil Shah succeeded the Bijapur throne. Since Ismail was only 10-12 years old, the administration was run solely by Kamal Khan.

Kamal Khan was sunni by faith and had not relished the inception of the shia dynasty in the South. Since Ismail was a young boy, he thought that there was an opportunity for ousting the shia dynasty and enthroning himself. Ferishata mentions that he got into a secret alliance with the neighbouring Muslim Kings of Ahmednagar, Golkonda and Bidar for this purpose. Very significant is the remark of Ferishta that he even entered into an understanding with the Portugese and agreed that they may retain Goa⁽ⁱⁱⁱ⁾ in consideration of helping him, when required.

(i) Sil Silai Asafia - vol 2. p. 105.

(ii) Basatin - p. 22.

Bijapur Architecture by Cousens, p. 2.

Mukhdamai Tarrig-i-Deccan by Siddiqui, p. 69.

(iii) 25th November, 1510 Albuquerque recaptured Goa. In the letter to his King dated 22nd December, 1510 he mentioned: "in the capture of Goa and its fortress, we succeeded better than we expected to do. We killed 300 Turks in the place, besides whom number of the enemy were drowned in their flight across the river. After this I destroyed the city and put every one to the sword." Report by Danvers - p. 5.

With these alliances, Kamal Khan concentrated on making internal arrangements in Bijapur for the overthrow of the Adil Shahi Dynasty. He distributed Jagirs and posts of honour among his own relatives and dependents. He humbled Zeinuddin, Governor of Sholapur, and the five and a half districts under him were distributed among his supporters. He exercised complete control over the royal treasury and reduced the royal body-guards on the pretext of effecting economy. In short, he took all measures to create a climate in Bijapur to favour and support him in case he usurped the throne. He confined the young Ismail and his Maharatta mother Bapuji Khanum in the citadel of Bijapur. Luckily for Ismail, his aunt Dilshad Agha was also with him.

After having completed all these arrangements, Kamal Khan was actually waiting for an auspicious moment to throw out Ismail Adil Shah. Meanwhile, the young King and his mother felt perturbed at the developments brought about by Kamal Khan and the secret intelligence received by them revealed a well thought out plot of their destruction. The Maharatta mother could not take this lying low and she prevailed upon Yusuf Turk, the foster father of Ismail, to slay Kamal Khan. With this object in view the Maharatta mother now sent for an old female attendant of her own, who had been employed by Kamal Khan, to take an offering to him. She bribed and asked her to take along with her Yusuf Turk, so that he may seek permission of Kamal Khan for going on a pilgrimage to Mecca. The female servant consented and took Yusuf Turk with her to Kamal Khan. Kamal Khan was quite impressed with this overture of the queen-mother, and in his excitement, agreed to call

in Yusuf Turk to accord him permission to proceed on his pilgrimage. Yusuf Turk got into the audience of Kamal Khan, acted his part well and with the quickness of a lightning, stabbed Kamal Khan to death. This created a furore in the Regent's house and Safdar Khan, Kamal Khan's son, immediately ordered the doors of the citadel to be closed. He with his army rushed to the palace to apprehend the young King. Ismail's aunt Dilshad Agha, however, instantly ordered the palace gates to be closed and sent out her emissary to some of her countrymen informing them that the life of Ismail was in danger and Kamal Khan had ordered his troops to assassinate him. The foreign guards, on receiving this intelligence, came out well armed to defend Ismail. Taking their positions on the palace wall the foreign guards discharged a volley of arrows on Safdar Khan's troops and succumbed fighting bravely. Meanwhile, Mustafa Khan and Sikandar Khan, who were both in charge of the Citadel, hearing of the disturbances, hastened and joined the royal party. Dilshad Agha also sent her servant privately into the city informing all the foreigners of the danger to which their King was exposed and requesting them to hasten to his assistance. Quite a few of them did join the royal troops. The foreigners concealed themselves and remained silent behind the parapet wall. Safdar Khan, thinking that they had fled, broke open the gate of the palace and entered into the court. The gallant Maharatta mother renewed her attack and lot of the troops of Safdar Khan were killed. Safdar Khan also sustained an injury in the eye and ran under a wall over which the young Ismail was standing. Young Ismail, seizing this opportunity, rolled down a heavy stone from the terrace which crushed Safdar Khan to death. This completely unnerved Safdar

Khan's troops, who opening the gates of the citadel, fled in different directions for safety. Thus, the Adil Shahi throne was saved from usurpation and Ismail continued to rule Bijapur.

The part played by the Maharatta mother and the Persian aunt Dilshad Agha in this heroic struggle for survival is one of the most romantic episodes of the Deccan history. It is unthinkable how a hand-full of people led by two brave women, fighting so gallantly, could save the Adil Shahi throne. Clad in soldier's dress, armed with sword and shields, it looked as if these two women created a storm in the minds of the few adherents whose spirits, lofty and heroic, overcame the surging manpower of the usurpers.

Those who had supported the King in repelling the aggression of Kamal Khan, were suitably rewarded. In particular, Asad Khan who had distinguished himself was assigned a jagir and was amply rewarded. Those who had fled in fear of the bad treatment meted out by Kamal Khan, were advised to return and occupy positions of honour. What was really unfortunate, as a result of this encounter, was that for some time the Adil Shahis maintained troops consisting of only foreigners. The locals called the Decannies, were kept out of the army. ⁽¹⁾ Later on, however, this tradition got changed and only Rajputs, Mahrattas and Afghans came to be enrolled in the Bijapur army.

The stories of dissensions and turmoil in the Bijapur Kingdom reached far and wide. Amir Barid who always nurtured feelings of ill-will towards Bijapur thought it proper to strike and fish in the troubled

(i) Ferishta - Briggs. Vol. III. p. 45. Basatin - p. 33.

waters. He got in touch with the neighbouring kings of Ahmednagar, Golkonda, and Berar and sought their assistance to liquidate the Adil Shahis. With Mahmud Shah at the head of the army, the combined armies marched against Bijapur. Ismail Adil Shah, with his limited number of troops, encountered the Bahmini forces and routed them. Mahmud Shah and his son Ahmed fell into the hands of the victors, who, however, treated them with great respect and honour. Ismail Adil Shah's sister Bibi Mazeeti, got married to Mahmud Shah's son Ahmed and the ceremony was celebrated with great pomp and revelry at Gulbarga. ⁽ⁱ⁾

A very important development took place during this period in the history of Deccan. During the Bahmanids and particularly during the period of Mahmud Gawan there was continuous communion with Persia through letters and exchange of courtesies, now the Persian King sent his Ambassadors to some of these Muslim States in the Deccan. The King of Persia, Ismail Sufeyy, sent one Abdul Razak to Vijayanagar, one other to Gujerat and the third one to Bidar and Bijapur. Ismail Adil Shah received the Persian Ambassador with great honour and sent him back loaded with rich presents to the Persian King. The King of Persia, in return, deputed Ibrahim Baig in 1519 A.D. to go to Bijapur and tender his presents to Ismail Adil Shah. The good relations that developed between the two sovereigns are perhaps responsible for the extraordinary order issued by Ismail Adil Shah that on all Fridays a prayer should be recited at all mosques for the prosperity and long life of the Royal family of Persia. ⁽ⁱⁱ⁾

(i) Basatin pp. 33-34.

(ii) Ferishta - Briggs - Vol. III. p. 48.

In 1519 A.D., Ismail Adil Shah marched against the Raya of Vijayanagar to recover Mudkal and Raichur, which originally belonged to the Bijapur Kings, but were occupied during the period of chaos that prevailed during Kamal Khan's short regime. He pitched his army on the banks of the river Krishna and since Krishna was in spate, he had to wait for long to cross it. Ferishta mentions, that out of intoxication one night Ismail Adil Shah put himself and his army in the surging water of Krishna and forded it. He attacked the Vijayanagar forces, but as the attack was unplanned and the Bijapur army relatively small, they were routed. With great difficulty, it is alleged, Ismail Adil Shah retreated and returned to Bijapur.⁽ⁱ⁾

The above story of Ferishta is disputed by good many historians. Sewell, on the basis of the historical accounts of Nuniz, Paes and Portuguese chroniclers has established that this battle of Raichur took place in the month of May 1520. He has also established that Raichur was in the possession of Yusuf Adil Shah. The story of the battle given by Ferishta appears to be incorrect in several details, particularly the portion dealing with the intoxication of Ismail Adil Shah. A regular battle appears to have taken place between the contending forces and both of them had very large armies to command. In this battle terrific slaughter took place and the entire army of Ismail Adil Shah was put to flight. In spite of Salabat Khan's valiant attempt to retrieve the fortunes of Adil Shahi Dynasty, the Muslim army could do no better. Of this battle what is more significant to note is that the Raya was assisted by the Portuguese, who had evidently created a sphere of influence in the Vijayanagar Court.

(i) Ferishta - Briggs - Vol. III. page 48-51 Basatin - pp. 44-45.

Political effects of the battle of Raichur were far reaching. The crushing defeat of Ismail Adil Shah had, for a long time to come, left him and the other Muslim Kings in great consternation. It was realised that except by a combination of forces, it was impossible to annihilate the Hindu Kingdom. The Vijaynagar King who was the hero of this battle, was Krishna Deva Raya.

The defeat of Ismail Adil Shah forced him to conciliate with the neighbouring Muslim Kings. As a first step, he entered into parleys with Burhan Nizam Shah of Ahmednagar and agreed to give his sister Muryum in marriage to him. The marriage was celebrated in 1524. It appears from the account of Ferishta that Ismail was also promised to give the fort of Sholapur with all its $5\frac{1}{2}$ districts to Burhan Nizam Shah as a marriage portion to his sister. This was not, however, effected. After sometime, having come to know of the intention of Ismail Adil Shah, Burhan Nizam Shah with the help of neighbouring Kings of Berar and Bidar marched to Sholapur to occupy it. Ismail Adil did not relish this and with an army of 10,000 moved to oppose the invaders.

Both the armies camped between Sholapur and Naldrug and a good many events appear to have taken place. Ferishta mentions of the surprise attack of the Governor of Purenda, Khwaja Jehan. In this attack the Bijapur forces were defeated. Next day, however, Ismail Adil Shah recouped and gave a pitched battle. In this Imad Shah's forces of Berar were routed by Asad Khan who soon after turned towards the Ahmednagar forces and routed them as well. Asad Khan's valour and his heroic assault turned the defeat into a victory and Ismail Adil Shah returned in triumph

to Bijapur to celebrate this event with pomp and enthusiasm. He gave Jagirs to Asad Khan and made him the commander-in-chief. He also increased the pay of his army. Increase in pay entailed cutting down his own expenditure, which he willingly chose to suffer.

In 1528, again Burhan Nizam Shah, accompanied by Amir Barid, invaded the territories of Ismail Adil Shah. Again, Asad Khan rose to the occasion and defeated the insurgents. Asad Khan was rewarded with the title of 'Furzund' (son). The same year Ismail Adil Shah gave his third sister Khadija in marriage to Imad Shah, the King of Berar, and due to this the two sovereigns maintained cordial relations all through.

The most important event of Ismail Adil Shah's reign was the liquidation of the Barid Shahi dynasty of Bidar. All along the line, the Bijapur throne was continuously threatened by Amir Barid, who, on one pretext or the other, invaded the Bijapur Kingdom, without any success. Both in the times of Yusuf Adil Shah and his son, Amir Barid made several attempts to liquidate the Bijapur Kingdom. This loomed large at the back of the mind of Ismail Adil Shah, who, in consultation with Burhan Nizam Shah of Ahmednagar, decided finally to invade the Bidar Kingdom. He made extensive preparations and, as mentioned by Ferishta, with an army of 10,000 cavalry he advanced towards Bidar. Amir Barid was old and infirm and, therefore, he left the charge of his Kingdom in the hands of his sons and took shelter in the fortress of Udgir. Bidar was blockaded on all sides and in spite of this, the events did not prove decisive. Then, it is mentioned that Asud Khan, the commander-in-chief of the Bijapur forces, made an all out attack and in this engagement Ismail Adil killed two of the sons of Amir

Barid with his own hands. Meanwhile, intelligence was also received that Quli Qutb Shah of Golkonda had despatched 4,000 cavalry for the aid of Amir Barid. The news was disquieting, but Asad Khan, as usual rose to the occasion and faced the Telangana army before it could reach Bidar. Asad Khan defeated this army which fled in consternation.

The siege of Bidar was dragging on it and it had become quite unbearable for Amir Barid who, therefore, sent messages to Imad Shah of Berar to intercede. Imad Shah accepted the request and marched personally to mediate terms of peace. He stayed in Ismail Adil's camp for more than a week without any result, as Ismail Adil Shah had convinced him that unless the Barid Shahi dynasty was wiped out, there would be no peace for the Adil Shahis. While these parleys were going on, Amir Barid hastened to join Imad Shah secretly with a view to obtaining peace. This news was received by Ismail Adil Shah, who directed the commander-in - chief, Asad Khan to capture Amir Barid. Asad Khan with a few selected men got into Amir Barid's camp at mid-night when Amir Barid was found to be sleeping under a heavy influence of liquor. Instead of capturing the old man, Asad Khan with the help of his men, lifted the cot and returned to his camp. He produced Amir Barid before Ismail Adil Shah and in spite of Amir Barid's repeated request for pardon, Ismail Adil Shah did not release him. Thereupon, Amir Barid despatched a message to his sons acquainting them with the situation and advising them to surrender. This message was, however, not well received, whereupon Amir Barid was carried before a tower of the fort so that his sons could see him. This had the desired effect and the sons of Amir Barid immediately surrendered.

The Bijapur forces along with Alauddin Imad Shah walked into Bidar and occupied it. This liquidated the Barid Shahi dynasty once for all. Bidar Kingdom became a part and parcel of the Adil Shahi throne. On Imad Shah's request however, Amir Barid was given Kaliani, Udgir and some districts of the Adil Shahi Kingdom to maintain himself.

The last event of Ismail Adil Shah's reign was the successful attack against the Vijaynagar Kingdom to recover Raichur and Mudkal. After a siege of 3 months, the attack was successful and once again Raichur and Mudkal were annexed to the Bijapur Kingdom.

Another event of Ismail Adil Shah's reign, as reported by Ferishta, is again a war between Bijapur and Ahmednagar armies. As the secret instigation of Amir Barid, Burhan Nizam Shah proceeded to the frontiers of Bijapur. Ismail Adil Shah along with his trusted commander-in-chief Asud Khan, hastened to meet the attack. The battle went on when ultimately Khursid Khan, commander-in-chief of the Nizam Shah's army was killed and the troops fled in disorder. Burhan Nizam Shah was surrounded by the Bijapur forces and with difficulty he fled to Ahmednagar. Subsequently Ferishta mentions, that both the Kings entered into an alliance of lasting peace. The understanding reached was that the combined armies should reduce Telangana and Berar.

In consequence of this arrangement in 1533 A.D., Ismail Adil Shah along with Amir Barid laid siege to Kowel Konda, one of the fortresses of the Telangana Kingdom. While this attack was being continued, Ismail Adil Shah was laid down with fever

and he died in harness in the year 1534 A.D. The siege of Kowel Konda was raised and the armies returned to Bijapur.

The struggle for existence that ensued during Ismail Adil Shah's reign saw the conclusion of matrimonial relations with the neighbouring Kingdoms of Ahmednagar and Berar. Barid Shahis were liquidated causing no threat or danger to the Bijapur Kingdom. The only two adversaries left were the Qutb Shahis of Golkonda and the Rayas of Vijaynagar. Since Qutb Shahis, by and large, were a peace-loving rulers, no danger was anticipated to the Bijapur Kingdom. Similarly the conditions of uncertainty and turmoil that prevailed due to the death of Krishna Deva Raya in Vijayanagar left no room for doubt that the Bijapur throne was safe. Thus, during the reign of Ismail Adil Shah, the Bijapur Kingdom attained a certain measure of security and its frontiers came to be well established and recognised.

Ismail Adil Shah's reign does not in any sense indicate the process of synthesis between the Hindus and the Muslim cultures. In fact, all along his reign, Ismail Adil Shah closed the doors of employment to the locals in the army. His experience taught him to rely more on the foreigners who incidentally came in large numbers during his reign.

Ferishta, however, showers encomiums on Ismail Adil Shah, his large heartedness, sense of justice, literary attainment and aesthetic virtues. Like his father Ismail lived like a king distributing charities and moneys to all and sundry. He received large treasures and moneys of Bahminids after the capture of Bidar but distributed them among his Commanders and lieutien-

ants, friends and allies, indicating his benevolence and large heartedness.

About his education and scholarship, all that is known is that he patronized poets, writers and musicians who flocked from all directions to his Kingdom. He is reported to be a good musician and was fond of painting and embroidery in particular.

Little is known about the antecedents and previous history of Asad Khan.⁽ⁱ⁾ Asad Khan emerges as a hero of no man's stamp. Events, one after another, throw him on the crest of the wave till he comes to occupy the highest position as both the Pashwa and the commander-in-chief. More in the field of battle did this hero shine. Every battle he fought, every engagement he countenanced, brought him more in limelight. In distress he was a tower of strength, the last invincible citadel that could weather all storms, strains and stresses.

Ismail Adil Shah, a little before his death, had already settled the question of his succession. In spite of his full knowledge that his eldest son Mullu was thoroughly incapable of managing the state, he got it decided that Mullu would succeed him. He entrusted this work to his trusted Asad Khan. Since Ismail died in harness during the siege of Kowel Konda, Asad Khan raised the siege and returned to Bijapur. There, he, in consultation with all other nobles, army men and inmates of the royal household, enthroned Mullu and repaired to Belgaum. Mullu, however ruled only for six months. He took to evil ways and very soon annoyed most of the nobles in Bijapur, who disowned him in disgust. Bapuji Khanum, the Maharatta wife of Ali

(i) A Turk by descent, his name was Khusro Agha.

Adil Shah, was still alive and even she apprehended the danger caused through excesses indulged in by Mullu. In consultation with Yusuf Turk, she got Mullu dethroned, blinded and raised his younger brother Ibrahim as the King of the Bijapur Kingdom. ⁽¹⁾

The struggle for existence was both intense and acute. The Adil Shahi Kingdom though born through the enterprising spirit of a foreigner who perhaps came for employment rather than for founding an Empire like Clive, for sustenance rather than for sovereignty, was hurled into a momentum of activity that had to safeguard and secure it. The father had given birth to a kingdom which had to be nursed and nurtured into manhood. In this mission, the son Ismail did not fail, he atleast liquidated one enemy, the Barids. A good portion of the Barid Shahi dominion was annexed, yet the Adil Shahis were not alone, safe and sound. The great Vijayanagar Empire which ruled the entire south was no small adversary. Worst still were the neighbours who inspite of being Muslims were ready to devour the Shia Kingdom of Bijapur. Thus, for the little boat of Bijapur, both the land and the sea were hostile. Yet it had to go on till it found the safe shore with tranquil waters

(1) Basatin, page 47.

Ibrahim Adil Shah I. It is mentioned that soon after the accession of
1535 - 1557 AD. Ibrahim Adil Shah in 1535 A.D, Shia religion was dis-
carded, names of Imams from the Khutba removed and
Sunni rites were restored.¹ The abrupt change is
inexplicable particularly when Ibrahim Adil was himself
of Shia descent.

More significant than this was the change in
the attitude towards the foreigners. All the foreign
officers, with the exception of a few were either removed
or degraded. The Deccanese and the Abbysinians were
recruited and promoted in their places. These two far-
reaching changes, perhaps, had their genesis in the
thinking of the Maharatta grandmother, Bapuji Khanum.
It had become increasingly clear to her that the Shia
throne could not exist for long by alienating the Sunnies
and the local population. The resources of the foreign-
ers were limited as their number. At a time, therefore,
when Bijapur was surrounded on all sides by enemical
kingdoms, it was almost impossible to maintain its
existence with a handful of foreigners. These consider-
ations, evidently, must have promoted Bapuji Khanum
to give a twist to the policy hitherto followed by Ismail,
in particular. Since Ibrahim was young and these
promotings could not have come from a foreigner like
Asad Khan, the assumption is that Bapuji Khanum
must have been the author of these important changes.

Ibrahim went a step further on this road and
ordered that the office records should be kept in the

1 Basatin, p. 49

regional language and appointed Hindus wherever possible.ⁱⁱ

When Ibrahim Adil Shah accended the throne, the Portuguese had already established themselves well in Goa. In fact their history shows that they were slowly spreading their tentacles and kept an eye on Bijapur. It is also established that they had become quite influential in the Vijayanagar court. According to a treaty signed between them the Raya had made over the territories of Bardez and Salsette to the Portuguese in 1521.” In 1635, there was a treaty signed between them to oust the Dutch. But the Raya seems to have backed out at a crucial moment.ⁱ

What really checked the advance of Portuguese interests in the South was the emergence of the Dutch, who competed closely with them, both in trade and in political errands. In January 1637, a Dutch fleet appeared in Goa and despatched its emissary to Ibrahim seeking his assistance to drive the Portuguese out of Goa. Ibrahim is supposed to have favoured this and even issued a firman for the establishment of a Dutch factory at Vingorla.ⁱⁱ In November 1638, therefore, a fleet of eleven Dutch vessels appeared before Goa. An ambassador was sent to Adil Shah to negotiate for establishing a factory at Karwar which subject was already under negotiation with the English.ⁱⁱⁱ

But the Portuguese had already secured peace from the Raya of Vijayanagar, the Zamorin and Adil

ii B7satin, p. 49.

i Report-Danvers, pp. 50-52.

ii Report-Danvers, p. 40.

iii Idib, p. 43.

Shahs, and were entrenched in Goa. Through their treaty with the above mentioned kings, they got the monopoly of trade in the South.

Ismail Adil, after having consolidated himself, turned his attention towards Goa and the Portuguese. Goa had irretrievably fallen into the hands of Albuquerque and there was hardly any chance to retake it. The Portuguese had the support of the Rayas of Vijayanagar. Danvers mentions that Ismail Adil foresaw danger through the Raya-Portuguese coalition and, therefore, hastened to send an emissary to the Portuguese Governor, seeking his friendship and support. The Portuguese Governor received his emissary with all respect and honours and promised friendship provided his men, who were employed by Ismail, were returned to him. The Portuguese records indicate that Ismail acted promptly and complied with the wishes of the Governor to secure peace for Goa.ⁱ

Menezes, the new Portuguese Governor of Goa, mistaking this for weakness of Ibrahim, attacked Diu.ⁱⁱ He also made an attempt to seize the mainland of Goa, which had been under the Bijapur sultans all along. Asad Khan, though beaten thrice, assembled a large force and compelled the foreigners to retire to Goa. The former treaty of peace was renewed.ⁱⁱⁱ

Da Cunha succeeded Menezes as Governor in 1529. He was ambitious and made one more attempt in 1533-34 to capture Diu, without any result. He turned his attention and taking advantage of Ibrahim's pre-

i The Portuguese in India, by Danvers- Vol. I. pp. 302-3.

ii The Portuguese in India, Danvers- Vol. I. p. 351.

iii Ibid p. 356

occupation with the king of Golkonda, he seized the mainland of Goa. He erected a fort at Rachol in 1536.

Asad Khan, annoyed, sent in his force immediately to face the Portuguese. In the first attack, Bijapur forces were defeated. Asad Khan, therefore, in July 1536, again sent his army which was also defeated. He, therefore, decided to march in person. He laid siege of the Rachol fort, cut off all the supplies and forced the Portuguese to surrender. The fort was raised to the ground and the mainland was again annexed to the Bijapur Kingdom.ⁱ

In 1536, Ibrahim Adil Shah invaded Vijayanagar. The causes of this invasion are recorded differently by different people. There is also difference of opinion about the King, who ruled Vijayanagar at this time. Nuniz, who visited Vijayanagar, mentions that Achuta Raya was the ruling King, while Ferishta stated Hem Raja and Rama Raja. Sewell has at great length discussed this question and established that it was no other King, but Achuta Raya, who ruled Vijayanagar at this time.

The reason for the invasion of Vijayanagar is described in the following extract from "Asia" of Barros.

"Acadachan, like one who in a safe and lofty place watches some great fire spreading over the plains below, watched from his city of Belgaum the events that were passing; but did nothing till

ⁱ The Portuguese in India by Danvers, Vol. I

Ibid, pp. 414-16.

the Adil Shah wrote desiring him to return to Bijapur, which he had temporarily left owing to a disagreement, and to assist him in the government of the kingdom. Asad Khan replied craftily that he had done with the affairs of this life, and proposed to go and die at Mecca. At this Ismail flew into a passion and vowed revenge against his powerful subject, who to save himself wrote to Da Chuna, professing his unalloyed friendship for the Portuguese, and inviting them to take possession of the certain tracts on the main land, declaring that his master, the Sultan, was powerless to defend himself against the armies of Vijayanagar. This was, it must be borne in mind, long after the Hindu victory at Raichur. Da Chuna sent Christovao De Figuredo, Krishna Deva's valiant friend, to bear his reply, since the latter was on friendly terms with the Lord of Belgaum. A conversation took place in which Asad Khan said that he was afraid of his master, who was of variable and inconstant character, and that he desired of all things to preserve friendship with the Portuguese. He, therefore, begged to be allowed to visit Goa and cement an alliance with the governor general, to whom he faithfully promised that the lands in question should become forever the property of the king of Portugal. Accordingly, the lands were seized by Da Chuna."

"Immediately afterwards Asad Khan began to intrigue with the King of Vijayanagar, and being invited to visit that city on the occasion of one of the great Mahānavami festivals, left Belgaum with 13,000 men and 200 elephants. Before

starting he wrote to Da Chuna, asking that Figueriredo might be sent to accompany him and promising to obtain for the Portuguese a definite cession of the lands from the Raya, since these had formerly been the latter's possession. Accordingly, Figueriredo left for Vijayanagar but learned that the Khan had already arrived there and had joined the King. The Raya received Asad a favourably, and, as a present, gave him two towns, "Tunge & Turugel", since he hoped for his aid against the Sutan."

"When the Sultan heard of Asad Khan's defection he gave himself up for lost, but assembled an army and advanced to within twelve leagues of king's camp, where Asad Khan had pitched his tents at some distance from those of the Hindu lords. The Sultan thence wrote to the Raya demanding the delivery to him of his recalcitrant 'slave' and the Raya sent on the letter to Asad Khan who told the King that he would never join the Mohammadans, but would remain faithful to Vijayanagar. A short pause ensued, during which the Raya learned that constant messages were passing between the camps of the Sultan and Asad Khan. Both armies then marched towards Raichur, the Raya to retake the place from the Sultan, the Sultan watching for an opportunity to attack the Raya,"

"On the third day Asad Khan started with his forces two hours in advance of the royal troops, crossed the river first, and hastened to join the Sultan. Adil Shah received him with great apparent cordiality and at length freely

forgave him on the Khan's protestations that his intrigues with Vijayanagar and the Portuguese were only so many moves in a game undertaken for the advancement of the Sultan's interests. Previous to this move the Khan had held a conversation with Figueriredo, in which he succeeded in totally deceiving him as to his intentions, and reiterated his promises to obtain the cession of the mainlands from the Raya, for whom he professed the greatest friendship."

The above Portuguese account is not correct. Neither is it corroborated by any other evidence nor by Nuniz. Ferishta's account, however, corroborates in all details the account of Nuniz and, therefore, the reason of this invasion, as assigned by Ferishta, appears to be correct. King Achuta Raya was a despot. Under him the great Hindu Empire crumbled. He was cruel and tactless and through his excesses he had made an enemy of all. The nobles, out of sheer disgust, had left Vijayanagar, and later even joined hands in a rebellion against Achuta Raya. It was this rebellion which must have promoted Achuta Raya to send ambassadors with large presents to Ibrahim Adil requesting to assist him on the promise that the Vijayanagar Kingdom would become a tributary to Bijapur. Ibrahim consulted Asad Khan and arrived with his army in 1536. When the news of his march was received by the rebels they repaired. Ibrahim, thus, was received with great enthusiasm and cordiality by Achuta Raya 'who seated him on the Musnud of the Raja and made rejoicing for seven days' Achuta Raya paid a subsidy of 'two million sterlings and made many other gifts.'

No sooner Ibrahim-Adil returned, there were

again disturbances in the Vijayanagar Kingdom. The rebels under Rama Raja marched to Vijayanagar. Achuta Raya felt himself helpless and as Ferishta mentions shut himself up in the palace, and becoming mad from despair blinded all the royal elephants and horses, after cutting off their tails, that they might be of no use to the enemy. All the diamonds, rubies, emeralds, other precious stones and pearls, which had been collected were crushed to powder between heavy mill stones and scattered on the ground. He then fixed a sword-blade into a pillar of his apartment and ran his breast upon it with such force that it pierced through and came out at the back, thus putting an end to his existence, just as the gates of the palace were opened to his enemies. Rama Raja now became Roy of Beejanuggur without a rival.ⁱ

The last sentence of Ferishta in the above paragraph is, however, not correct. It has been established through a large number of inscriptions ranging from 1542 to 1568 as published in the lists of Antiquities, Madrasⁱⁱ that Achuta Raya was succeeded by his nephew Sadasiva. Dr. Hultzsch has also come to the same conclusion.ⁱⁱⁱ Sadasiva was, however, a nominal King. The real power was in the hands of Rama Raya and his two brothers, Tirumala and Venkatadri.

When Ibrahim Adil Shah heard of this revolution in Vijayanagar, he despatched Asad Khan with a large contingent to reduce the fortress of Adoni. Sadasiva also deputed Venkatadri to encounter the Adil Shahi forces. In the first engagement that took place

i Ferishta — — Briggs. Vol. III - p. 85

ii Lists of Antiquities - Madras. Vol. ii, p. 134.

iii South Indian Inscriptions, vol. i, p. 70.

Asad Khan was overwhelmed. This prompted Venkatadri to take Asad Khan's onslaught easy and allowed himself to celebrate the occasion. Before the day break, however, Asad Khan rallied his strength and made concerted attack on the Vijayanagar forces. Venkatadri was taken unawares and with great difficulty, he escaped while his family, bag and baggage, were all seized by the Adil Shah forces. Venkatadri sent message to the Vijayanagar court and requested for reinforcement. Rama Raya sent a huge army but secretly advised Venkatadri to sue for peace, since his family was in the hands of the Adil Shahi army. Accordingly, he made proposals to Ibrahim Adil Shah for peace, which were readily accepted.

Ferishta mentions that the mediation for peace was settled through Asad Khan. It is quite likely that this may have happened as this landed him in trouble. Some of the nobles of Ibrahim Adil Shah informed him that Asad Khan had accepted vast sums of money from Venkatadri. Ibrahim was, however, unmoved by such insinuations and, in fact, reproved the informers.¹ Later he 'honoured Asad Khan with a suit of his own robes' and nominated him to the office of Prime Ministership as well as commander-in-chief of his army. 'Asad Khan, then, returned to Belgauin.

Absence of Asad Khan from Bijapur created trouble. During his absence the nobles became jealous of his meteoric rise and started poisoning the king against him. One Yusuf Turk, who was a favourite of Ibrahim, was made an instrument of all such machinations. Yusuf Turk firmly poisoned the mind of Ibrahim

¹ Basatin, p. 54.

Adil that Asad Khan was secretly negotiating his downfall with Burhan Nizam Shah of Ahmednagar. Ibrahim called for Asad Khan, who, for reasons of health, declined to appear before him. This confirmed Ibrahim's suspicion about the malafides of Asad Khan and he detailed Yusuf Turk to bring about his end. To execute this plan purpose Yusuf Turk was assigned a land in the vicinity of Belgaum and was given some army to assist him in executing his plans. Asud Khan was in know of all these and he, therefore, seized upon the earliest opportunity of facing Yusuf Turk. On the pretext of visiting the garden house all alone, he left orders to 400 seasoned horsemen to follow him. The news reached Yusuf Turk, who thought that this was a good opportunity of surprising Asad Khan and for hauling him up. He, therefore, advanced with his troops to the garden house where unfortunately he was encountered by Asad Khan's cavalry. In the engagement that ensued, Yusuf Turk was repelled and many of his men were taken as prisoners. It appears that Asad Khan reported in full about this incident and complained to the king that this may have happened with his consent. Ibrahim, however, disowned this and in fact imprisoned Yusuf to establish his bonafides.

The rift between Ibrahim and Asad Khan was widening and Burhan Nizam Shah of Ahmednagar thought that this was a good opportunity to invade the the territories of Ibrahim Adil Shah. In 1542, in coalition with Amir Barid, he invaded and seized Sholapur along with his 5 districts. He appointed Khwaja Jehan Deccanee, who was incharge of Purenda, as Governor of this new territory. Ibrahim Adil Shah, unable to face the invaders retired to Gulbarga.

Asad Khan could not, however, take this unprecedented invasion of Burhan Nizam Shah so easily. He entreated Imad Shah of Berar to march to the aid of Ibrahim Adil Shah and promised to meet him on the borders. Imad Shah of Berar agreed to help and with a large contingent moved towards Gulbarga. Asad Khan received the Imad Shahi forces and explained in person how Ibrahim Adil Shah was poisoned against him. Imad Shah was convinced of the integrity of Asad Khan and, therefore, 'he conducted him on the same day to Ibrahim Adil Shah, to whom he also soon made clear the error in which he had been led', Ibrahim Adil Shah 'clasped Asad Khan in his embrace expressing contrition for his ill-usage of him'. The reconciliation between the King and his Minister soon changed the fate of the Kingdom and the allied forces, therefore, marched to encounter the invaders. Burhan Nizam Shah along with Amir Barid gave up the siege of Bijapur and retreated towards Daulatabad. Meanwhile the sudden death of Amir Barid unnerved Burhan Nizam Shah, who was forced to sue for peace. A treaty was signed and Sholapur, along with its 5 districts, was again restored to Ibrahim Adil Shah.

As would be evident, Sholapur, along with its 5½ districts, became the bone of contention between the Adil Shahis and the Nizam Shahis of Ahmednagar. Since not delivered, Burhan Nizam Shah felt restless and conceived of plans of recapturing Sholapur. This time he sought the help of the Raya of Vijayanagar and the king of Golkonda. He received substantial army assistance from the two and invaded the Bijapur territories on the south and the east. The King of Golkonda seized the Bijapur territories of Kalyani and 'occupied the whole country to the walls of Gulbarga.' He went

further and laid siege to the fortress of Udgir. In the south Venkatadri invaded Raichur.

The confederacy was too difficult to be faced. Ibrahim Adil Shah made overtures to Rama Raja and sued for peace. Similarly, in spite of the fact that Burhan Nizam Shah was an inveterate enemy of the Adil Shahi family, peace was signed with him and Sholapur, along with its 5½ districts, was handed over to him. Having concluded peace with two of the three invading parties, Ibrahim Adil Shah decided to encounter Jamshed Khutub Shah of Golkonda, who had done more damage to his sovereignty during the invasion than others. He reduced Kalyani, recaptured Udgir and encountered the Khutub Shahi King in Golkonda. Asad Khan again blossomed out and in a personal duel with the king of Golkonda, he disfigured him. The Golkonda forces were defeated in a severe action and the Golkonda king was, therefore, forced to sue for peace.

Thereafter, Ibrahim Adil Shah turned his attention towards Burhan Nizam Shah, his old enemy. Burhan Nizam Shah sought the help of the Raya of Vijayanagar and on the banks of the river Bhima, the two armies camped. In the battle that ensued between them, the army of Burhan Nizam Shah was completely routed. Ferishta mentions that Ibrahim collected 250 elephants, 170 pieces of cannon, lot of ammunitions and camp material belonging to Burhan Nizam Shah. In this campaign, Asad Khan was by the side of Ibrahim Adil Shah. Burhan Nizam Shah sued for peace, which was refused and was, therefore, forced to face the Bijapur King once again. In the second engagement, it appears that Burhan Nizam Shah defeated the Bijapur forces. Ibrahim Adil Shah lost his nerve through this

defeat. It is mentioned that out of sheer frustration he put to death some of his Hindu and Muslim officers on vague suspicion. He harassed his nobles and even had suspicion of the fidelity of Asad Khan. His brother Abdullah escaped to Goa and Asad Khan withdrew to Belgaum.

From Belgaum, sometime after, Asad Khan reported to have written a confidential letter to Ibrahim Adil to the following effect.

“Why, ah! why, art thou thus estranged from me? What have I done, what hast thou heard, what hast thou seen in me/

If I have committed a crime, let my head fall beneath the stroke of the sabre; but it is neither generous, nor just to be incensed without a case.

I know not the reason of this unkindness, nor what can have occasioned such coldness.

Whatever crimes interested persons have attributed to my charge, I may have committed a hundred times; but I know not their accusations; and, like the wolf accused of destroying Yoosoof, I am innocent, and condemned unseen or unheard. The language they attribute to me has never passed my lips, nor have evil designs been conceived in my mind.

The reason of my delay in this fortress, and of my absence from the court, is to avoid the designs of my enemies, who daily misrepresent the purity of my intentions and the sincerity of my attachment. They have already tainted my character with the stain of disaffection and have made the peaceful recess of the King's

heart a cave of spleen, nay, of grief, and a recess of burning fire. By accusing me of treachery, they diminish the glow of cheerfulness on the part of the king. They pollute, with the alloy of suspicion, the pure gold of my loyalty, and dissolve thine heart in the tormenting crucible of jealousy.

If, however, the kindness of the king of kings should, in compassion for my situation, require my enemies to be put to shame, and command my presence, I will, when the rains are at an end, proceed to throw myself at the foot of the throne; in one month will I hasten with joyful presents and offerings, to the royal court.ⁱ

Meanwhile, Asad Khan was taken seriously ill. He knew that his doom was near and he, therefore, entreated Ibrahim to honour him with a farewell visit in the following verses:

“Haste, like the morning breeze, to the bower of friendship; come, like the graceful cypress to the garden.”ⁱⁱ

Ibrahim complied with his request and proceeded to Belgaum. While he was still on his way, the news came that Asad Khan had expired. He, however, went to Belgaum and consoled Asad Khan's mourning family.

Asad Khan's death emboldened the Portuguese and Burhan Nizam Shah to conceive of plans to liquidate the Bijapur kingdom. The Portuguese, it appears, took the initiative and concluded treats of peace and

i Ferishta-Briggs. Vol. III. p. 97.

ii Ferishta-Briggs. Vol. III. p. 100.

Basatin-p. 63.

aid with Vijayanagar on the 19th September, 1547 and with Ahmednagar on the 6th October, of the same year. The treaty with Vijayanagar secured the Portuguese a monopoly of horse trade. The terms of this treaty were as follows:

(a) Each party to be friends of the friends, and enemy of the enemies, of the other, and, when called on, to help the other, with all their forces against all kings and lords in India, the Nizam Shah always excepted.

(b) The Governor of Goa will allow all Arab and Persian horses landed at Goa, to be purchased by the king of Vijayanagar on due notice and proper payment, none being permitted to be sent to Bijapur.

(c) The king of Vijayanagar will compel all merchants in his kingdom trading with the coast to send their goods through ports where the Portuguese have factors, permitting none to proceed to Bijapur ports.

(d) The king of Vijayanagar will forbid the importation of saltpetre and iron into his kingdom from any Bijapur port and will compell its purchase from Portuguese factors.

(f) The king of Vijayanagar will allow no Moorish ship or fleet to stop in his ports and if any should come he will capture and send it to Goa. Both parties agreed to wage war on the Adil Shah and all territory taken from the latter shall belong to Vijayanagar except lands on the west of the ghats from Banda on the north to Cintacora on the south which lands shall belong to the king of Portugal. ¹

¹ Danvers - The Portuguese in India.

The Report p. 50. Treaty signed in 1547

De Castro, Governor of Goa, concluded a separate treaty of defensive alliance with Burhan Nizam Shah. Thus, it appears, that the tripartite league against Bijapur was formed and the Portuguese seem to be the authors of this. This was surely in supersession of the treaty which the Portuguese had with Ibrahim, signed on the 26th February. 1546 which said that:—

- (a) Adil Khan will not wage a war against them.
- (b) Abdullah and his family (Meale Khan in the Portuguese records) should be confined to solititude.
- (c) Lead and sulphur would be supplied in agreed quantities.
- (d) No duty will be levied on the agreed goods, horses and merchandise upto a value of 2000 paradaos.ⁱ

Burhan Nizam Shah got in touch with the Vijayanagar king and the Portuguese and made extensive preparations to launch a determined attack against Bijapur. In his understanding with his allies, he had also got it decided that Ibrahim Adil Shah should be deposed and Abdullah, his brother, who was under protection of the Portuguese, be made the king of Bijapur. Burhan Nizam Shah moved from Ahmednagar and invaded Kalyani Ali Barid, to whom Kalyani belonged, sought the assistance of Ibrahim Adil Shah.ⁱⁱ Ibrahim, along with a large force, proceeded to encounter the Nizam Shahi forces.

i Danvers – The Portuguese in India. Vol I. p. 475–6. This is, however, not supported by Ferishta or even by the Report of Danvers.

ii Gribble mentions that Ali Barid was Ibrahim's son-in-law.
A History of the Deccan. p. 181

The Nizam Shahi forces were surrounded on all sides and supplies to them were completely cut off. When conditions became intolerable, Burhan Nizam Shah's trusted commander, Saifuddin Einul Mulk made a surprise attack on Ibrahim Adil Shah, whose troops fled in confusion and he himself, with great difficulty, escaped.

Ibrahim Adil Shah, instead of retreating to Bijapur, hurried towards Purenda. He laid waste the country and captured Purenda and handed it over to one of his lieutenants.

On the other hand, the allied forces of Burhan Nizam Shah and Vijayanagar very easily captured Kal-yani and reduced the city and dependencies of Sholapur, Raichur and Mudkal and annexed them to the kingdom of Vijayanagar. All this happened in 1551.A.D.

The Indian historians are silent about the part played by the Portuguese in these invasions. But the Portuguese have highlighted this combined offensive against Bijapur and have gone to the extent of saying that, but for the expert advice and direction of the Portuguese, it would have been difficult for Burhan Nizam or the Raya of Vijayanagar to gain these victories.ⁱ

While the fate of the Bijapur dynasty was again in doldrums, fortunately for them, Burhan Nizam Shah died, and seizing this opportunity, Ibrahim Adil Shah succeeded in concluding peace with Burhan's son, Hussain Nizam Shah. It was again a sheer coincidence that at about this time there were dissensions in the Vijayanagar empire. Though Sadasiva continued

i Danvers - 'The Portuguese in India'

to rule, Rama Raja's authority had become overbearing and his two brothers Tirumalai and Venkatadri rebelled against him. Rama Raja, with the help of Ibrahim Khutub Shah repelled this rebellion at Adoni and finally pardoned his two brothers.¹

After Asad Khan, Ibrahim Adil Shah, for a long time, did not have a trustworthy commander-in-chief. He, therefore, made offers to Seifuddin Ein-ool-Moolk of Ahmednagar to join his camp, which he accepted due to the bad treatment meted out to him by Hussain Nizam Shah. Ibrahim conferred on him high titles and gave him considerable estates and made him his Peshwa.

After a lull of two or three years, again hostilities renewed between Ahmednagar and Bijapur. Ibrahim Adil Shah very openly espoused the cause of Prince Ali against Hussain Nizam Shah. He marched in person with a large army in support of Prince Ali, to encounter Hussain Nizam Shah. Both the armies met on the plains of Sholapur. The details of this battle are very graphically described by Ferishta.

"Ibrahim Adil Shah gave the command of his right wing to Seif Ein-ool-Moolk Geelani and Ankoos Khan", and that of the left to Noor Khan and Imadul Mulk, himself taking post with the household troops in the centre. The Hirawul, or advanced picquet, was commanded by Seif Ein-ool-Moolk, who pushed on from the line, and began the action with great impetuosity; Ibrahim Adil Shah, disapproving of his separation so far from the main body, directed that the picquet should remain nearer the line, in order the sooner to

receive support, if necessary. The general returned for answer, that his Majesty's observation was very just; but that as he had advanced so far, to return would only give spirits to the enemy. Having sent this message, he went on, and seized the enemy's cannon, which he spiked, and drove their picquets back on their main body. Here, however, he was resolutely opposed by Hussain Nizam Shah, who commanded in person, notwithstanding which the Nizam Shahi army began to give away, and must inevitably have been defeated, had the gallantry of Saif Ein-ool-Moolk met with proper support. At this crisis, several Nizam Shahi chiefs, who had been engaged on the left, advanced to the assistance of their sovereign, and almost surrounded Seif Ein-ool-Moolk, whose division was thrown into temporary confusion; but still seeing the standard of Ibrahim Adil Shah, though at a distance, he, as was his custom on desperate occasions, dismounted from his horse, resolved to conquer or die. Some of the troops, on seeing him dismount, told the king that Seif Ein-ool-Moolk, having gone over to the enemy, had just alighted to pay his respects to Hussain Nizam Shah. Ibrahim Adil Shah, who from the first entertained suspicions of his fidelity, was now confirmed in them, and fled from the field without halting, till he reached Bijapur. Seif Ein-ool-Moolk, finding the king had fled nobly fought his way through the enemy with great loss: and upon his arrival at the capital, sent word, respectfully, to his master, that he had lost all his baggage, and was without tents or any covering for himself or his miserable followers; he begged, therefore, an advance of cash, to enable him to repair his losses, and appear at court according to his rank and station. The king, who was persuaded that his defeat originated in the first disobedience of his orders for the picquet to fall back, replied that he wanted no

such insubordinate and obstinate servants, and that he might provide for himself wherever he could. Seif Einool-Moolk who could not accuse himself of any crime, was overwhelmed with astonishment, and sent another message to represent that he had served the king at the risk of his life with unshaken fidelity, and had sacrificed five hundred brave relations and friends in the battle; and that in his present miserable situation he could not move. He stated that he had no other refuge but the king's threshold; and that having quitted his place of refuge at his invitation, he could not repair to any other court. The king conceiving the latter part of Einool-Mulk's message to reflect on himself, ordered the bearer of it to be beaten, and turned out of his presence.

“Seif Ein-ool-Moolk, despairing of redress, had recourse to the advice of his friends how to proceed; and they recommended his going to his jageers, and raising the collections of the autumn harvest, then just ripe, after which, should the king send a force to expel him, he might retire wherever he should see best. This plan he accordingly adopted; and having marched from Bijapur to Man-Dese, collected the revenues and divided them among his troops. Ibrahim Adil Shah sent one of his officers with five thousand horses to expel Ein-ool-Moolk from the country, but the royalists were defeated; and the chief thus urged into revolt, growing bolder by success, collected the revenues of many districts, such as Walwa, Mirch and others. The king now detached against him ten thousand horses and foot, under command of Neeaz Koolly Beg and Dilwar Khan Hubshy. These troops were also defeated; and so many elephants and horses, with such a quantity of valuable baggage, fell into the hands of Ein-ool-Moolk that he

began seriously thinking of establishing himself in the country as an independant chief, with which view he levied additional troops."

"Ibrahim Adil Shah, at length thought it necessary to take the field in person, at the head of five thousand chosen horses, three thousand foot, and a train of artillery. Ein-ool-Moolk encamped on the river man, and the king arrived and halted some days on the opposite bank without attacking him. Seif Ein-ool-Moolk could not make up his mind to retreat, and resolved not to quit the country without fighting. For three days successively he advanced towards the king's camp, as if to engage but as often returned; the royal army remaining under arms on each occasion from dawn till sunset, expecting the attack. On the fourth day, Ein-ool-Moolk put his troops again in motion; but king supposing that his design was only to parade, as on the preceding days, neglected to make preparations for his reception, the common guards of the camp only getting under arms. At length the enemy's standard appearing in sight Ibrahim Adil Shah marshalled his troops in great haste, and moved out of the camp to give battle. Ein-ool-Moolk averse from engaging the king in person, consulted his friends; observing, that it was treason to fight against the royal standard; to which all assented except Moortuza Khan Anjoo, who remarked, that the standards did not fight and there was no danger of shedding royal blood. Ein-ool-Moolk satisfied with this casuistry and finding it too late to hesitate, charged the royalists, and attacking the centre, where Ibrahim Adil Shah was posted, pressed on it so vigorously that it was soon thrown into disorder, and the king fled; upon which his whole line broke, and victory was declared in favour of Ein-ool-Moolk, who seized the royal canopy, elephants and artillery, be-

sides all the tents and baggage. The king shut himself up in the citadel of Bijapur; and so great was the alarm of the people of the town, that the ruin of the royal family was pronounced to be inevitable. Seif Ein-ool-Moolk, following up his success, appeared before Bijapur where he for several days assaulted various parts of the city, and endeavoured to cut off the supplies.

“In this exigency, Ibrahim Adil Shah applied to the Hindoo Prince Ramraj for assistance sending him a present of 1,200,000 hoons; upon which he despatched his brother Venkatadri, with a considerable force, to expel the enemy. Seif Ein-ool-Moolk, in imitation of Asad Khan, thought to surprise the infidel’s camp but Venkatadri having intelligence of his designs, ordered his troops to be on their guard, and having procured long faggots, with cloths steeped in oil bound round one end of each commanded his followers, upon the alarm being given, to light them, and, hold them up as high as possible, affording the troops a full sight of the enemy. Ein-ool-Moolk in prosecution of his intentions having one night chosen two thousand men for the purpose, marched, accompanied by Salabat Khan, to the enemy’s camp, which he was allowed to enter unmolested; but upon the preconcerted signal being given, all the brands were instantly lighted up, and Venkatadri, who was fully prepared, fell upon the enemy with such success, that above five hundred of them were slain before the detachment could clear the camp. Ein-ool-Moolk and Salabat Khan with the greatest difficulty made their escape; and losing the road through the darkness of the night, a report spread through his camp on the return of some of the fugitives that Ein-ool-Moolk was killed. The troops became panic struck at their situation, and separating in all directions during the night, fled to different quarters. Ein-ool-Moolk

and Salabat Khan with two hundred horse, about daylight arriving at their ground, and seeing it deserted fled by the route of Man-Dese to the dominions of Hussain Nizam Shah, where they sought protection, but were basely assassinated by treachery, the particulars of which will appear in their proper place, in the history of that dynasty.ⁱ

In 1555, the Portuguese Viceroy of Goa, Pedro De Mascarenhas again made an effort to place Prince Abdullah on the throne of Bijapur. Abdullah was declared king of Bijapur and was established at Ponda. Ibrahim did not relish this and, with the help of Sadasiva Raya's troops from Vijayanagar, attacked Abdullah and the Portuguese at Ponda. He succeeded in capturing Abdullah and moved further towards Goa.ⁱ During the whole winter 1556 the Portuguese were faced with the Bijapur armies. No decisive results followed since Ibrahim Adil Shah was taken sick. The physicians could not cure him and, therefore, frustrated, Ibrahim put them to death. The treatment meted out to the physicians was so appalling that a good many of them fled in consternation from his dominion. Ibrahim died, in 1557, after a reign of 24 years and some months. He left behind him two sons and two daughters.

It was ordained for Ibrahim to be involved in an unending struggle with his neighbours. His entire reign is a series of such events in which the Adil Shahi throne was often time in great danger. Asad Khan's chivalry and loyalty to the Adil Shahi kingdom coupled with Imad Shah's timely assistance enabled Ibrahim Adil Shah to retain his throne. In the last part of his

i Ferishta - Briggs. Vol. III pp. 106-111.

ii Danvers - Portuguese in India Vol. p. 505

reign, when he was deprived of the staunch support of Asad Khan, the Raya of Vijayanagar came to his rescue. With Burhan Nizam Shah knocking at his doors, with Einul Mulk commander in arms against him, with the enimical Portuguese and their designed support of Abdullah, it appeared, as if the last days of the Bijapur kingdom were not very far. If the Raya of Vijayanagar had not sent his assistance to Ibrahim, the history of Adil Shahies would have come to an end.

As has been noted, Ibrahim was involved in a perpetual conflict with one or the other of his neighbours. Continous warfare and perennial devastation of the Bijapur kingdom rendered both the king and the people destitute. Peasantry and the peaceful tenor of the village life was, now and then, open to ravages of an unending warfare. For the first time in the Deccan such a phenomenon occurred when the contending forces revelled in devastating the countryside. Hitherto, in the Deccan history, battles did take place, but the country side in general remained unaffected. But now due to this new technique of 'blitzkrieg' great damage was done to the rural Deccan and its economy.

Ibrahim Adil Shah's contribution to the Deccan history was the close association he developed with the the local Maratha population. They came to be associated with both the army and civil administration and Marathi or Modi and Kannada was extensively used in preparation of accounts and government records. Brahmins and Hindus were in charge of the revenue and accounts departments. Ferishta mentions that the police administration was also in the hands of Maratha officers who were, at one stage, even persecuted on vague suspicion by Ibrahim.

Ibrahim was instrumental in raising a Maratha force consisting of 30,000. This force was called the 'Bergy' force. He allowed this force to introduce an entirely new system of warfare, hit and run, which was subsequently perfected by the great Maratha leader, Shivaji. This technique meant attacking the enemy, unawares, and in harassing him on his march by cutting his supplies. This system of warfare was encouraged by Ibrahim to the full when he went to encounter Burhan Nizam Shah at the request of his son-in-law Ali Barid. Ferishta mentioned :

“Ibrahim Adil Shah ordered his Bergy officers who were expert light troops, to occupy the roads and prevent supplies of grain and forage reaching the enemy. These orders were implicitly obeyed, that a famine soon prevailed in the camp of Burhan Nizam Shah, so that in the month of Ramzan, the king and his army, true believers, and Hindus, all fasted alike, from absolute necessity. Burhan Nizam Shah, in this distress consulted his generals,; some of whom proposed to raise the siege, and retreat to Ahmednagar; while others recommended him to make peace with Ibrahim Adil Shah.”ⁱ

By and large, Ibrahim Adil was a mediocre. It will not be far too wrong to agree with Gribble that but for his great general Asad Khan, he would have lost all wars.ⁱⁱ Personally he was brave, but he did not at any time display his abilities of being a great general. He also lacked level headedness and tended to act as a ruthless tyrant some times. He persecuted his Hindu and Muslim

i Ferishta – Briggs. Vol. III. page 103.

ii A History of the Deccan by Gribble. page 183.

officers, in a ruthless manner and he put to death good many of their physicians, the kind of treatment meted out to his loyal Asad Khan, are ample testimonies of his being an impetuous, head-strong and a suspicious ruler. He knew no pity, punishment had to be severe with him. Basatin mentions that even for a minor offence his punishment was harsh.

Ibrahim was fond of gaiety. Wine and women formed a good part of his life. His harem was big and varied.

Ibrahim had four sons and two daughters. Sons were Ismail, Ali, Tohmas and Ahmed, while daughters were Tanibi married to Ali Barid and Hadya Sultana married to Murtuza Nazam Shah.

The author of 'Basatin' mentions that in spite of his faults, Ibrahim looked after his state well. People were well off and trade was increasing. Army was well maintained and equipped. His army was composed of 30,000 cavalry, 2,30,000 infantry and 400 elephants. The condition of finance was more than satisfactory. Ibrahim left 10½ million hoons in the treasury at the time of his death.



Asad Khan Lari

Asad Khan Lari's debut in the Deccan history is both dramatic and enigmatic. It is dramatic in the sense that all of a sudden one finds one Khusro Agha, climbing up the besieged citadel of Bijapur for the rescue of his master Ismail Adil Shah. This Agha fight heroically with a handful of people and delivers the Adil Shahi throne safe. This Agha was no other than Asad Khan, who was again enigmatic in that his antecedents were unknown and previous history unrecorded.

All that is known is that Asad Khan Lari was a Turk by descent. In all probability he was employed by Yusuf Adil Shah as the head of the citadel guard. It is also mentioned that he was related to Yusuf Turk.ⁱ His beginnings, therefore, were very humble and he was one among the many employed by Yusuf Adil Shah, the founder of the Bijapur dynasty.

Yusuf Adil Shah was succeeded by his son Ismail Adil Shah who being a minor, was under the regency of Kamal Khan. Kamal Khan had evil designs on the Adil Shahi throne and conceived of plans to usurp it by putting the young king to death. At this critical juncture, Ismail's Maratha mother, Bapuji Khanum and his aunt, Dilshad Agha, rose to counter this treason and very shrewdly executed plans for the overthrow and murder of Kamal Khan. The crisis brew with the murder of Kamal Khan. Ismail's citadel was besieged by Kamal Khan's sons, who made every attempt to capture Ismail. Dilshad Agha and Bapuji Khanum, on the other hand, mustered their strength, collected all the

royalists and put up a heroic struggle for existence. In this valiant fight, one who out did others, was Khusro Agha, the famous Asad Khan Lari.

After repelling the rebellion of Kamal Khan, Ismail, as a young king, distributed favours and jagirs to those who helped him in his struggle. Khusro Agha for his heroic resistance, was renamed as Asad Khan Lari and the jagir of Belgaum was assigned to him.

After these dramatic beginings, Asad Khan consolidated himself in Belgaum through sheer initiative and leadership. He recaptured all the area around Belgaum, which was in the possession of the Portuguese. His exploits in this direction were so remarkable and impressive that Ismail Adil Shah saw in him a leader of great capacities, who could assist him in all his future endeavours.

Ismail was still young when Amir Barid invaded the Adil Shahi territory. Again, at this time, Asad Khan's penetration into Amir Barid's tent in the dead of the night to carry him off with his cot to the Adil Shahi camp is so dramatic that there are very few episodes in history equal to this in thrill, valour and personal bravery.

During the time Babar was engaged in the conquest of India, Bijapur was the centre of struggle for the mastery of the Deccan. The chief combatants were Ismail Adil Shah, Amir Barid, Qutub Shahi kings, Burhan Nizam Shah and Krishna Deva Raya of Vijayanagar. During these continuous conflicts and warfare, Asad Khan stood like a rock with Ismail Adil Shah and helped him in consolidating his kingdom.

Ismail Adil Shah had nominated his elder son Mullu to succeed him and had instructed Asad Khan to get these orders executed after his death. Although Ibrahim, the second son of Ismail, was the son-in-law of Asad Khan, he chose to act in accordance with the wishes of Ismail and enthroned Mullu. Unfortunately, however, Mullu was a mediocre and revelled in pleasures of the most obscene type. He was, therefore, soon deposed within a period of six months and Ibrahim succeeded him. Ibrahim again sought the help and assistance of Asad Khan, who became Peshwa and commander-in chief of the Bijapur kingdom. No other person was as competent as Asad Khan. He was indeed a great soldier; an astute diplomat; and above everything, a loyalist of no mean stamp.

Unfortunately, the medieval monarchy, every where was whimsical. The Peshwa's or the Prime Minister's job was not necessarily a bed of roses. The thorns were many. It was quite an ordeal to keep everyone in good humour, the king, his partisans, nobles and his favourites. People in general, did not matter much. Like all the great prime ministers of the Medieval age, for some time, Asad Khan also came under a cloud. His ever increasing power in the state created a feeling of jealousy among other nobles, who started poisoning Ibrahim's mind. When such conspiracies against him were afoot, Asad Khan retired to Belgaum.

Yusuf, who was commanded by Ibrahim to put an end to Asad Khan was much inferior a planner than Lari. Very easily Asad Khan understood the designs and laid springes to catch the wood cock. So precise he was in his plans that Yusuf, instead of capturing Asad Khan, became a captive himself.

Burhan Nizam Shah's all out offensive against Bijapur, in coalition with the Vijayanagar Raya and the Portuguese would have nearly meant a nemesis of the Bijapur dynasty. The invaders were marching on and Ibrahim, out of sheer inability to face the huge onslaught, closed himself up in the Bijapur citadel. At a time of crisis like this, it was only Asad Khan, who went to the rescue of master and invited Imad Shah of Berar on behalf of his master. Imad Shah accepted the invitation and at once marched to Gulbarga, where Asad Khan joined him. Imad Shah interceded and removed the clouds of suspicion which were hovering around Asad Khan. He effected a reconciliation between the master and the servant. As soon as this became known, Burhan Nizam Shah became unnerved and the combined armies of Bijapur and Berar pushed the enemies to Ahmednagar. This move of Asad Khan was a singular act of loyalty and devotion to the Bijapur dynasty.

With the death of Asad Khan in 1549, the Bijapur dynasty truly lost a great saviour. This is amply evidenced by the crushing defeat Ibrahim suffered in Kalyani at the hands of Burhan Nizam Shah. Raichur and Mudkal were also recaptured by the Raya of Vijayanagar.

Asad Khan was a great general. But for him, it would have become extremely difficult for the Bijapur Sultans to retain their power. In all events and battles, he showed himself as a moving spirit, the saviour and protector of the Bijapur dynasty. His name was a terror to the enemies. The Portuguese historians, in all their records, have mentioned his name with great awe and discomfort. Their persistent effort to win him over, the Raya's continuous overtures to humor and please him,

Burhan Nizam's vain attempts to win him over to his side in his confederacy against Ibrahim—all these are facts which on the one hand established the *bona fides* of Asad Khan, ever loyal to the Bijapur kingdom, and on the other, indicated how important he was. Correctly, the enemies of the Bijapur kingdom had assessed that without Asad Khan, Bijapur would be like a 'hamlet without the Prince of Denmark.'

Portuguese chroniclers have assessed 'Acadcan' (Asad Khan) as a great diplomat. With chagrin, they have mentioned him as the unsurmountable obstacle in their achievement of a Portuguese empire in the Deccan. Vijayanagar and Ahmednagar had already fallen in line with them. Further south, they had, all along the Malabar Coast, developed a patrimony of a malicious type. Against this background, if Asad Khan played his dice against them to bring the Raya of Vijayanagar closer to the Bijapur throne, none could doubt Asad Khan's sincerity of purpose. In fact, all that he did in this direction is still his contribution to the Deccan history, as otherwise, the Deccan would have been a suzerain of the Portuguese from times immemorial.

Nuniz mentions in his chronicleⁱ how Salabat Khan, one of the valiant fighter of Ismail, was taken prisoner by Krishna Deva Raya. To get him released Asad Khan was sent to the Raya. He knew the language of the court and, in a very diplomatic way, laid the blame for all that happened during the warfare between the two kingdoms on Salabat Khan conveniently. He gave him the impression that Ismail was very friendly to the Rayas. It was only Salabat Khan who discribed this warfare. The Raya got appeased in so far as Ismail

i A Forgotten Empire - Sewell. p. 357.

was concerned and put Salabat Khan to death. While Asad Khan did succeed in appeasing the Raya to a certain extent, he also removed Salabat Khan from his way.

Ferishta and Portuguese chroniclers mention that Asad Khan had amassed a lot of wealth. He maintained such a splendour and magnificence that even kings could not afford. His household servants of all nationalities, amounted to 250. He had 60 large elephants and 150 of smaller size. In his stables were 400 Arabian horses; in his kitchen "were every day expended 100 maunds of rice, Deccan weight, 50 sheep and 200 fowls."ⁱ

A great personality and a famous general like Asad Khan unfortunately has not found a suitable place in Indian history. During the school days, the stories read about him, still keep on resounding in ears. One with the Bijapuris, the Deccanics have no misgivings to adore him not only as a general, a staunch patriot, an astute politician and a seasoned administrator, but also as a saint and a well recognised Wali.

Qualities of head and heart are mainly responsible for the great esteem still being shown by the Bijapuris for Asad Khan. He, in fact, was a rare combination of all virtues required for the making of a great hero. The qualities of his head made him an astute politician, a seasoned administrator and a famous general. The qualities of his heart made him brave, valiant and bountiful. He had a large heart and if Ferishta's account of his kitchen is true, then it can safely be presumed that he must have been feeding half of his Belgaum.


i Ferishta - Briggs. Vol. III. p. 101.

Basatin

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p. 64.

The needy and the poor could always approach him and get the required help without any distinction of caste or creed. His tolerance of other sects was superb and is amply evidenced by the fact that against the established practice of the Muslim sovereigns in India, he went all out to employ the local Hindu population in all avocations of life. Such of the qualities of his heart were such a rare combination that he could justifiably be assessed as a saint. The qualities of his head, on the other hand, were so remarkably synthesised in him that he could without any exaggeration be considered a hero of the medieval Deccan.



Ali Adil Shah I.

Ibrahim Adil Shah's two sons - Ali Adil (1557 AD. to 1580 AD) and Tahmasp had pronounced shia inclinations. They were not happy with their father's religious policy. Ferishta mentions of a conversation between Ibrahim and his son Ali Adil. The son had very pertinently remarked that by changing his shia creed and getting converted to the sunni faith, Ibrahim had established a tradition of change of faiths which the son could as well follow. This annoyed the father and he committed his son to the care of one Mulla Fatehullah Shirazi and removed him to the fortress of Mirch along with his tutor. He ordered the Governor of Mirch, Sikander Khan, to watch his son closely and to report to him, of and on, how he was shaping. It appears from Ferishta's account that the Governor was himself of shia inclinations though he posed himself as a sunni. He, therefore, instead of watching the young prince, brought him up in shia traditions and allowed him to follow his own religious inclinations. When Ibrahim Adil Shah was reported to be very sick, the young prince Ali it is reported, "ascended the pulpit in a mosque, and read the prayers after the ritual of the shias."ⁱ

Ibrahim's second son, Tahmasp was also a shia in his faith. In fact, it is said that he was more zealous a shia than his brother, Ali. This fact was not unknown to Ibrahim and the choice to him of a successor was, therefore, as difficult as ever, since both the sons were avowedly of a different sectarian view. He left the choice to his nobles and partisans.

i Ferishta - Briggs. Vol. III. p. 115

After the death of Ibrahim, Kishwur Khan, who was the Governor of Belgaum, succeeding his father Asad Khan, played a very vital role in getting the question of succession decided in favour of his nephew Ali. He influenced the Governor of Mirch, Sikandar Khan. Both of them combined and proceeded to Bijapur along with the Prince to enthrone him. Ali moved towards the capital and fortunately was met by all the members of the court and his relations. He ascended the throne in the garden of Kishwur Khan on the outskirts of Bijapur. To commemorate his accession, he ordered a small town called Shahpur to be built near this garden.

Since Ali was of shia disposition, he issued orders for the Khutba to be read throughout his dominion in the name of the Imams and declared shia religion to be the religion of the State. It is also mentioned by Ferishta that, he even employed 40 persons to utter curses against the 'Sahiba' and the sunni faith.ⁱ He took Kishwur Khan, son of Asad Khan, his maternal uncle, as his Commander-in-chief and Peshwa of the Bijapur State, blinded his brother Tahmasp and put him in house arrest.ⁱⁱ

Ali Adil Shah was very anxious to recover the forts of Kalyani and Sholapur, which had fallen in the hands of Hussain Nizam Shah of Ahmednagar. Realising that Hussain Nizam Shah may seek the help of the Vijayanagar empire in the event of his attacking Ahmednagar, he sent his Commander-in-chief, Kishwur Khan, in advance, to the Vijayanagar, court to obtain peace with them. In Vijayanagar, Sadasiva still

i Ferishta Briggs. Vol. III p; 117.

ii Basatin p. 152.

ruled assisted by the three famous and powerful brothers Rama Raja, Tirumala and Venkatadry. Kishwur Khan obtained the required peace and both the States entered into a friendly alliance of peace.ⁱ It is also mentioned that Rama Raja sent a special emissary to Bijapur to congratulate Ali Adil on his accession.

Rama Raja lost his son. On receipt of this news, Ali Adil Shah went to Vijyanagar, attended only by one hundred horses to offer his condolences. This gesture was much appreciated and Rama Raja received Ali Adil with respect. The wife of Rama Raja even adopted the King, Ali Adil, as her son. Ali Adil Shah spent three days in Vijayanagar, and was assured that in the event of his invading Ahmednagar, he would receive all help from the Vijyanagar court.

On his return to Bijapur, Ali Adil peremptorily demanded from Hussain Nizam Shah the restoration of his two fortresses, Kalayani and Sholapur. Hussain Nizam Shah turned it down contemptuously. On October 14, 1558 AD, the combined armies of Bijapur and Vijayanagar attacked the dominion of Hussain Nizam Shah. For one full year, the war continued and the devastation caused to the Ahmednagar dominion was so vast and appalling that "from Purenda to Junere and from Ahmednagar to Daultabad not a vestige of population left. The infibels of Vijayanagar, who for many years had been wishing for such an opportunity left no cruelty unpracticed. They insulted the honour of the Muslim women, destroyed the mosques and did not respect even the sacred Koran".ⁱⁱ Kalyani was finally captured and Hussain Nizm Shah obtained peace from Ali Adil.

i A Forgotten Empire by Sewell. p.192

ii Ferishta - Briggs. Vol. II. page 120.

Just when the Bijapur army was returning, news was received that Nizam Shah was again marching towards Kalyani in alliance with Ibrahim Qutb Shah. Ali Adil Shah, again sought Vijayanagar's help and Ali Barid also joined him. His combined armies advanced to meet the Nizam Shahi forces. Ibrahim Qutb Shah got unnerved and deserted his ally Hussain Nizam Shah, therefore, was forced to retreat to Ahmednagar. He was followed by the Bijapur forces who laid siege to Ahmednagar and sent forces all round to lay waste the country. Meanwhile, rains came and the siege had to be vacated. The combined forces of Bijapur and Vijayanagar, therefore, *Marched towards their* destinations. En route, however, they are reported by Ferishta to have played a havoc with the country side. Villages, were burnt, men and women slain, mosques and temples were, desecrated; happenings surely unprecedented in the Deccan history. They were, at any rate, foreign to the Bahmani traditions and Farishta rightly indicts the Vijayanagar ruler for initiating such acts of barbarism.

Fall of Vijayanagar

For one thing, collaboration with the Bijapur Sultans in his exploits had very naturally created a feeling of superiority in the mind of Rama Raja, who also became conversant with the helplessness, disorganisation and obvious inferiority of the Muslim potentates in the Deccan-Ahmednagar was sufficiently weak, Bijapur was weaker still. And the Qutb Shah though peaceful in his policies and conciliatory, in his attitude, was yet a weak monarch militarily. These were sufficient reasons for an ambitious man like Rama Raja to conceive of plans to establish his much awaited total supremacy of the south.

On the contrary, Ali Adil Shah and the other Muslim potentates anticipated the obvious and

in a desperate bid to exist, very correctly, assessed that their salvation lay in a combined Muslim front. What precipitated matters was open and very visible hostile attitude of Rama Raja.

Ali Adil Shah, in a bid to bring all the Muslim Kings of Deccan to face Rama Raja sent his emissary to Ibrahim Qutb Shah of Golconda. Qutb Shah welcomed the idea since he had also suffered greatly at the hands of Rama Raja both in prestige and dominions. He even volunteered to effect conciliation between the Bijapur and Ahmednagar potentates with a view to bring in Ahmednagar to join the Muslim confederacy. He also promised to use his good offices to obtain Sholapur fort for Bijapur, a fort which always was a bone of contention between the two.

True to his word, Ibrahim Qutb Shah did succeed in effecting a conciliation between the Bijapur and Ahmednagar Houses. Hussian Nizam Shah agreed to join the confederacy and gave his daughter Chand Bibi to Adil Shah in marriage with Sholapur in dowry. On the other side, Ali Adil Shah made an offer of his sister, Hadia Sultana, in marriage to Murtaza, the eldest son of Hussain Nizam Shah. Ferishta mentions that the marriage, ceremonies were performed with great eclat.¹ Thus, for the time being, it appeared, that through matrimonial alliances, the two contending Houses decided to end their age long rivalry. Perhaps, no less contributory was the factor of fear of Rama Raja in cementing their broken bonds of friendship.

The wheel had come full circle. The confederacy was perfect that even Ali Barid joined. The

arrangements to launch upon the last and final assault on Vijayanagar were also complete. The combined armies of the Muslim potentates of Bijapur, Ahmednagar, Golkonda, met on the plains of Bijapur and advanced towards Vijayanagar on the 26th Dec. 1564.

Rama Raja of Vijayanagar was least perturbed by the advance of the allied Muslim forces. In his judgement, the so-called formidable union of the Muslims, was a play-thing in his hands which he could smash at will. He, however, despatched his two brothers. Yeltimraj and Venkâtdry, each with an accomplishment of 20 thousand cavalry, 500 elephants and one hundred thousand foot to block the advance of the Muslims at the river Krishna. Twenty miles south of river Krishna, both the armies took their positions on the two opposite sides of the river, anxiously waiting for the bugle to blow.

The river Krishna was unfordable except at a point which was fully covered by the Vijayanagar forces. The Muslims, therefore, could not see their way to launch their attack and very shrewdly employed strategy and deception to put their enemy off the guard. For three days, a part of their army leaving fordable point, moved along the river creating an impression that they had totally abandoned their previous position and were in search of a new fordable point. The Hindus, likewise left their position and manoeuvred along the opposite banks to cover the enemy. The Muslim force, which actually lay hidden, crossed the river and advanced to encounter Rama Raja.ⁱ

“The allies now drew up their army in order of battle. The right wing was entrusted to Ali

i Bastin pp. 98-99

Adil Shah, the left to Ali Barid and Ibrahim Qutb Shah and the centre to Hussain Nizam Shah. The artillery, fastened together by strong chains and ropes, was drawn up in front of the line and the war elephants were placed in various positions, agreeable to custom. Each prince erected his particular standard in centre of his own army, and the allies moved in close order against the enemy.”ⁱ

Rama Raja was by no means dismayed by the advance of the allies. He recalled his two brothers and set his army in position. It was a huge army, right wing under Yeltimraj, left under Venkatadry while Rama Raja commanded the centre. “Two thousand war elephants and one thousand pieces of cannon were placed at different intervals of his line.”

Both armies moved and come to battle. Rama Raja, over-confident of his victory, moved in his ‘Singhasun’ⁱⁱ against all measures of safety and ‘security’. In the general action that ensued, Rama Raja’s forces suffered persistent reverses. For the first time in written history, Rama Raja distributed rich ornaments of gold and jewels in the battlefield in order to enthuse his soldiers to fight fiercely. This did have the desired effect and the right and left wings of the allies were so vigorously attacked that their retreat was not out of sight. Meanwhile, Hussain Nizam Shah who was pressing hard got his elephant injured. This advanced so furiously that Rama Raja’s bearers, out of fright left him high and dry and fled. Rama Raja was instantly surrounded and taken as prisoner. When brought before Hussain Nizam Shah, Rama Raja’s head was

i Ferishta – Briggs. Vol. III. p. 128

ii A carried by bearers.

chopped off and was ordered to be displayed on the point of a long spear. This put the Hindus to flight and a lakh of them were killed. Venkatadry and Yel-tim Raj fled to Anagundi.

The allied forces, as reported by Ferishta, killed all and sundry. The river was dyed red. They entered Vijayanagar and took to whole-sale slaughter, even women and children were not spared. Buildings and houses were raised to ground. The plunder, thus, was so extensive that, for all times, Vijayanagar, as a city, ceased to exist.

Although Venkatadry, who sued for peace and submission, was granted both, yet his power was completely shattered. The great Vijayanagar Empire, all at once, got completely effaced since all its fuedal lords became independent.

The battle of Talikota, as the above mentioned war is called, was one of the greatest Indian wars of the Medieval age. The battles of Terrain and Panipat, though decisive and far reaching in consequence, were not that extensive and gorgeous as this. The armies employed were relatively the largest ever put in the battlefied. Artillery and cavalry were used by both the sides more than ever employed before. If Ferishta's account is correct, rockets were also used by the Hindus for the first time in human history.ⁱ

Other special feature of the battle of Talikota was its methodical planning and execution. The entire army, on both the sides was divided in three wings, the central wing being more powerful than the

i Ferishta Briggs. Vol. III. pa. 129

others. Artillery in front followed by archers on elephants, then the cavalry and infantry in quick succession, was a pattern which could not be more scientific those days.

The Vijayanagar army was more in number than the other. It was also better equipped, more guns and cannons, elephants and horses and above all rockets which the Muslims did not have. Planning was not defective, execution was also superb—Why, then, did the Hindus loose? Caesar Fredrick states that owing to treachery of two Muslim army chiefs of the Vijayanagar Empire, the Hindus were defeated. This view is, however, unsupported. The real cause of the defeat was the sudden capitulation of Rama Raja. Often, small things cause the biggest catastrophies. If Rama Raja had not been that unwisely over-confident of his victory so as to march on a 'Singhasan' carried by unarmed servants he would not have been left in a lurch. It was too late then to get over a horse since the enemy immediately encircled him and took him as a captive. Perhaps, Rama Raja was also un-armed as otherwise he would have preferred to die fighting. Evidently, he under-estimated the strength of his enemies and thought that his advance guard was much too powerful to allow the Muslims to penetrate into his flanks. At any rate, he did think, that by the time the Muslims reached him he would have ample time to leave his 'Singhasan' and get ready on a horse back to face them. Since all his calculations went wrong he became a victim of his over-confidence, and under-estimation of his enemy.

Hero worship with all its advantages, has also its drawback. Rama Raja was a hero. He was able, competent and a great organizer. He was exemplary both in the fields of war and administration.

During his regime Vijayanagar Empire attained that prosperity and glory which it did not have before. Haughty in behavior, impressive in looks, highly dignified in conduct, with a record of successive victories against the Muslims Rama Raja had created a halo around him. He was considered omnipotent, victorious and a nonvulnerable hero by all the sections of his people. This being the general feeling, regard and respect for Rama Raja, his sudden capitulation unnerved his people, who out of sheer panic and consternation fled hither and thither and got killed. Too much of hero-worship can always create circumstances like these. Lack of confidence in oneself and too much reliance on others is a sure outcome of the rabid hero-worship of the Vijayanagar type.

CHAPTER III

THE ADILSHAHIS - Their meridian of Glory.

Thus, with the fall of the Vijayanagar Empire, the Adil Shahi dynasty the second biggest in the South, attained a measure of repose and complete freedom from fear of annihilation. The sword of Democles which always hung over its head was naturally withdrawn giving the Adilshahis ample freedom to enlarge, consolidate and come of age,

In the south there remained almost no rivals - the Barid Shahis were liquidated and merged, while the Qutub Shahis of Golkonda were essentially peace loving and seldom showed inclinations for aggrandisement. The Ahmadnagar Kingdom, however, still remained an eyesore as it always was with perenial story of warfare and avoidable carnage. Though lately cordiàlity had developed between the two and matrimonial relationship further strengthened it, Ali Adil always felt that the sleeping dogs should never be allowed to lie and the Nizam Shahis should be wiped out from the map of the Deccan. With this object in view Ali Adil Shah summoned his trusted Commander-in-Chief and Peshwa, Kishwar Khan, to complete the operation so that the Adil Shahi kingdom could expand and consolidate and assume the grossness of a lumbering giant. The conditions in Ahmadnagar were also helpful since Husain Nizam Shah, the hero of Talikota, was dead and was succeeded by his son Murtaza Nizam Shah a small meteor in the Deccani horizon.

Kishwar Khan, in obedience to the King's command, launched his relentless attack and advanced as far as Dahragor where he constructed a big fort. Murtuza Nizam Shah apprehensive of the delay, marched with a large contingent to face the uncalled for aggression. Kishwar was killed and defeated, Ein-ool-Moolk who was operating in another sector was also completely defeated. And with great difficulty the Bijapur army retreated in safety.

It was apparent that Ali Adil Shah had strong intentions of annexing the entire Vijayanagar territory to his dominions. Initially he did not succeed due to the intervention of Murtuza Nizam Shah. Now, he concerted detailed plans to run over this country and deal the last finishing blow to the great Hindu Empire.

As has been mentioned, after the fall of Vijayanagar, all the feudal lords declared their independence while Venkatadri occupied and shut himself up in Anagundi. The feudal lords who became independent were the following

- (1) Venkati Yessa Raya of Turkal
- (2) The Raya of Dharwar
- (3) Velapa Raya of Bunkapur
- (4) The Raya of Chandraguty
- (5) Shanker Naik of Karoor
- (6) The Naik of Gerreh
- (7) The Naik of Adoni.

Ali Adil, after making adequate preparations, marched with Mustafa Khan, the seccessor of Kishwar Khan, to subjugate all the above mentioned feudal lords. After a long seige of seven months, Venkati was captured

and beheaded, The Raya of Dharwar also suffered the same fate. Velapa Raya, however, stoutly resisted and harassed the Bijapur army by his guerilla warfare. He intercepted the supplies of the Bijapur army which were attached at night. Mustafa Khan, the able general of Ali Adil, therefore, detached some forces and put them on the job of combing out the area of the guerilla soldiers. Ferishta mentions that this operation was so systematically done that, in a short time, all the vestiges of the authority of the Raya disappeared and he was forced to vacate the fort for the Adil Shahi forces. During this campaign, in particular, Mustufa Khan's prestige shot up and he was conferred many towns and districts as jagir.

The forts of Jerrat ⁱ and Chandraguty ⁱⁱ were also conquered while Shanker naik of Karoor ⁱⁱⁱ readily accepted obedience. Penukonda and Adoni were also invaded but with no result.

All the conquered territory was, thus, placed under the prudent vigilance of Mustafa Khan who made adequate arrangements for administering them and for protecting the frontiers. Through these conquests, the Bijapur dominions extended considerably and encompassed a sizeable portion of the Vijayanagar Empire.

Encouraged by the united effort against Vijayanagar, Ali Adil Shah conceived of a similar design to overthrow the Portuguese. In 1570, he in league with Ahamdnagar, the Zamorin of Calicut and the King of Achin in Sumatra, planned to attack the Portuguese possessions both in India and Sumatra. Under this arrangement, if the allies succeeded, Goa was to go to

i, ii & iii . It is difficult to locate these places now. But from the description of Ferishta it appears, that in these places wives ruled and the husbands had no power and therefore it is quite possible that they were in Malabar.

Bijapur, chaul to Ahmadnagar, Calicut to the Zamorin and Sumatra to the King of Achin, For achieving this objective, Ali Adil Shah was to contribute a hundred thousand soldiers, 35,000 cavalry 2,140 war elephants, and 300 pieces of big sized cannons. Further he was to lead with Navi Khan as his Commander-in- Chief, about the end of December 1570 against Goa. The frontal attack of Goa lasted till August 1571. Several times the two combatants faced each other, sometimes victory falling to the lot of one and some times to the other. In August, out of sheer disgust, however, Ali Adil retired and returned to Bijapur.

Similarly, Chaul was defended by the Portuguese against the onslaught of the Ahmadnagar forces. The contest was uneventful and the Ahmadnagar army also returned in quietitude.

Though the league against the Portuguese failed, it is reported that the relations between Bijapur and Ahmadnagar became very cordial.¹ The league perhaps failed because no joint attack was made on the Portuguese. If the combined army had attacked one station after the other, the fate of the Portuguese history in India would have been different.

Grant Duff correctly mentions that during the reign of Ali Adil Shah, the Bijapur dominions extended considerably. From Nira to Tungabhadra in the south, from Bankot to cape Ramas in the west, on the east encompassing the districts of Raichor, Udgir, Malkhed and Bidar and on the north were provinces of Akalkot, Naldrug and Kalyani.

Like all famous kings of the middle ages,

i Faria-y-Souza in Kerr's Voyages, Vol. VI. pp. 423 429

Ali Adil Shah exhibited rare valour courage and leadership in the field of battle. Undaunted by odds, unmindful of the risks involved, he hurled himself in the field of battle like a piercing shaft which went round with such a velocity and force that, on seldom occasions, his enemies found themselves capable of facing him. Whenever he personally led the attack his hit was fatal and success never could shy.

More than in the field of battle, Ali Adil scaled great heights in the field of peace. Arts and architecture never could complain either of his inadequate attention or his immature approach. He raised the Juma Masjid with such immaculate care and craftsmanship that even today it receives encomiums. The city wall, the Shahpur gate were again his contributions, still esteemed and highly appreciated. He laid out the Shahpurpet in 1559 and built the forts of Dharwar in 1557 and Bankapur in 1573. He planted the most beautiful and exquisite gardens in Bijapur between the periods 1556 – 1568. He constructed the famous Gagan Mahal.

The other fine arts were no less grateful to Ali Adil Shah for his devotion to beauty and close attention to their caressing growth.ⁱ Poetry received his support and poets from all corners flocked to his court. Writers of all shades and opinions sought his patronage and received it plentiful. Engineers and architects craved for his service, for besides high respect they were entitled to, they imbibed novel and original ideas from a master builder, like Ali Adil.ⁱⁱ

To painting Ali Adil bestowed his best attentions. Like a damsel, beautiful and delicate, painting

i Ferishta – Briggs. III p. 143.

ii Silcock – Bijapur p. 30.

found in Ali Adil, a lover of deep affection and fidelity. It is unthinkable that Ali Adil was not a painter himself as otherwise the famous illustrated Nujum-ul-Ulum could not have been produced. This, was perhaps, the beginning and the climax of the mixed Deccani school of paintings which could be considered as the precursor of the Moghul school. The style of these paintings, with their bright deep and gold colours, denote an individuality of their own. The school exhibited in these also signifies a liberal use of Hindu Gods, ornaments and the Hindu influence.

While Ali Adil was devoted to fine arts, his attention never scared the objects of social welfare. Social welfare, was as precious to him as his own breath. He was aware that Bijapur was always short of water, and water truly, was the nector of life. He, therefore, devoted his best attentions to providing this nector through the construction of the huge and massive reservoir of water called Chand Bawdi. Chand Bawdi touched only the fringe of the matter, fringe of the problem, and therefore he laid out the gorgeous water course to supply water to all the localities of Bijapur. The water supply system he introduced, was something unique in the history of the middle ages.

To Sufism, born during the time of the Bahmanids from the Womb of Khwaja Bande Nawaz, Ali Adil gave his full attention and nursed it with utmost care and fondness. He patronised both the Hindu and the Muslim saints and helped constructing a composite understanding of different religions.

Ali Adil never succumbed to the temptations of money. Generosity was his hallmark, seldom did a needy return without his bountiful help. His

servant, Nailji, was allowed to carry money in his two hands to perform the marriage of his daughter.

Ali Adil was a symbol of simplicity. To him simple living and high thinking was not an adage but a matter of faith. Shirazi correctly mentions that he used to put on simple white clothes, sit and sleep on the floor and eat the simplest food. He also mentions that he instructed the chief of his kitchen, Mansab Khan, to avoid slaughter of animals and fowls, as it was a luxury for one man and cruelty to others.

Ali Adil was himself well versed in literature, logic and different sciences. He himself wrote well and read extensively. Shirazi mentions that he went on tour stalked with big boxes of books which were returned after a careful reading,

No wonder, therefore, Ali Adil was considered as one of the greatest rulers of his time, whose friendship, guidance and assistance was not only craved for by Akbar but by most other potentates of India and the middle east.ⁱ Like a Martyr, he was assassinated, wrote Mulla Mohammad Razak.

i Ferishta Briggs Vol. III. page 143.
 Elliot & Dawson Vol. V. page 460
 Basatin pages 78 - 79

Ibrahim Adil Shah II

(1580) -1626 A.D.)

Ibrahim Adil Shah succeeded his uncle Ali Adil Shah.ⁱ He was a minor, his age being 9 years. In view of his minority the responsibility to run the State naturally devolved on his mother Chand Bibi who was assisted by the Chief Minister, Kamil Khan. Till Ibrahim attained majority, the general condition of Adil Shahi Government again became chaotic and insecure. For one thing, there was a very close conflict for power among those who were supposed to look after the State for the minor. For other, the Mughals had settled down in this area and were casting lingering looks towards the Deccan in order to establish their overall supremacy in India.

Kamil Khan was of the Deccani origin. For some time both Chand Bibi and himself carried on well. It, however, appears that when the interference of Chand Bibi became too much, Kamil Khan resented and seems to have disregarded her completely. Ferishta goes a step further to say that Kamil Khan even insulted Chand Bibi and showed her disrespect. Chand Bibi was of an overbearing temperament. She would not stand such disrespectful treatment and, therefore, conspired secretly in league with Kishwar Khan to get Kamil Khan murdered. It appears that she very wisely set Kishwar Khan against Kamil Khan by promising him the chief ministership. The plot was framed and one evening Kishwar Khan with 400 man got into the Palace where Kamil Khan was holding a Darbar. The gates of the palace were closed and the insurgents went after

i Basatin mentions that Ibrahim was Tahmasp's eldest son and therefore nephew of Ali Adil Shah. ...p.152 This is supported by Ferishta.

Kamil Khan. Utterly panic-stricken Kamil Khan fled to Chand Bibi for protection and here he was informed that in fact Chand Bibi was the author of the plot against him. To save himself, Kamil Khan flung from the palace wall into the ditch full of water, swam across and got somehow into the city. He collected as much money and jewels he could and started for Ahmednagar. Meanwhile, Kishwar Khan's men intercepted him when he had gone only 4 miles from Bijapur, killed him and brought his head as a trophy to be presented to Kishwar Khan.

Kishwar Khan's fate was also carved out by destiny in the same fashion as Kamil Khan's. Intoxicated by power and unable to stand any interference of Chand Bibi, Kishwar Khan also headed towards a catastrophe. What was even worse was that through his acts of omission and commission Kishwar Khan also embittered the nobility. He built all round him a climate of hostility and afraid, that Chand Bibi with the help of the nobles may ultimately overthrow him, Kishwar Khan conceived designs to overtake her in the race for mutual destruction. When it was rumoured that Chand Bibi was planning to instal Mustafa Khan in place of Kishwar Khan, very cleverly Kishwar Khan persuaded Mir Nur-ud-din, a Jagirdar of Bunkapur, to assassinate Mustafa Khan. He promised good reward for this deed, more states and honour. Nur-ud-din was in good books of Mustafa Khan and, therefore, not for a moment did Mustafa Khan sense treachery. A bearer of a letter, Mohammed Amin was deputed by Nur-ud-din to deliver a letter to Mustafa Khan. Before this was done, very cleverly, Nur-ud-din circulated the contents to all the officers of the garrison during the night which communicated the king's order for putting Mustafa Khan to

death. While Mustafa Khan was busy in his morning prayers next day, a number of officers of his garrison rushed upon him and strangled him to death.

When the news of Mustafa Khan's assassination reached Bijapur, Chand Bibi was intensely annoyed. She disapproved of the conduct of Kishwar Khan in the most bitter terms. Resentment mounted high and very cleverly Kishwar Khan obtained the young king's signature to an order drafted by himself by which Chand Bibi was to be confined in the fortress of Satara. She was insulted, degraded and forced out of the harem. But Chand Bibi was not the person to take it lying low. She secretly manoeuvred from Satara fort and instigated the Abyssinians in the fort to effect her release. Yakhlas Khan, the principal Abyssinian Chief, imprisoned Mian Buddhu and moved with his army to Bijapur. Kishwar Khan did not expect any support either from the palace or from his own men. Under the pretext of a hunting expedition, he left Bijapur with a few selected men and the money he could gather and marched for security to Golkonda. When he reached Golkonda he was assassinated by one of the relatives of Mustafa Khanⁱ and thus ended the short period of four months and 12 days of the reign of Kishwar Khan."

Yakhlas Khan along with Chand Bibi arrived in Bijapur unopposed. He assumed the regency and appointed Afzal Khan as Peshwa and Yesso Pandit as a Minister."ⁱⁱ

In 1582, taking advantage of the confusion prevailing at Bijapur, the kings of Ahmednagar, Golkonda and Bidar, attacked Bijapur and laid siege to the

i Basatin p. 168

ii Ibid

iii Ferishta, Briggs, Vol. VII. page 150.

capital. It was rightly felt that history may repeat itself and like the fate of Vijayanagar, Bijapur throne may also break into pieces. True to their salt, all the nobles of Bijapur kingdom rallied round the king, Shah Abdul Hasan was made Amir who united their forces and faced the invaders. Meanwhile, pressure was being built through diplomatic channels on the allies to retire. The Bergy Chiefs cut off the supplies of the leaguers and harassed them to such an extent that there was a famine in the camps of the insurgents. The leaguers returned to their respective States committing excesses on the way and plundering the villages and the districts.

The above siege of the city of Bijapur continued for 12 months but for Shah Abul Hasan's heroic resistance and well-planned strategy, Bijapur would have been in the hands of the enemy.

Dilwar Khan who was deputed to pursue the Qutb Shahi king returned in triumph to Bijapur. Encouraged by his victory, enthused by ambition, and abetted by Haider Khan, the commander of the citadel, Dilwar Khan entered the palace with all his force to oust Yakhlash Khan, the ruling chief. The armies of the two rivals rushed to a closer engagement of swords, bayonets and spears and continued this for four months. The city of Bijapur resounded with groans and anguishes and finally, Dilwar Khan succeeded in capturing Yakhlash Khan, who was instantly imprisoned and blinded. Thus, Dilwar Khan assumed the regency of the State.

Shah Abul Hasan, the saviour of the State of Bijapur, was also imprisoned and later put to death.

Dilwar Khan was at the helm of the affairs for

nearly 8 years. He ruled the Bijapur kingdom with great ability and success, and restored order. He was a brave man and collected around him able people, foreigners and others. He rehabilitated the Sunni faith and concluded a treaty of peace with kings of Ahmednagar and Golkonda. Very cleverly he arranged a marriage between the young Ibrahim and Taj Sultana, the sister of the king of Golkond. Similarly, Ibrahim's sister Khadija Sultana was married to Prince Hussain of Ahmednagar. ⁱ

During the period of regency of Dilwar Khan, two English travellers Fitch and Newberry visited Bijapur in 1583. They described Bijapur as a very large town, rich and prosperous. They found houses lofty, handsome and built of stone. Bijapur town was full of Hindus who were free to worship and follow their own religion. These two travellers found lot of temples and idols in the city.

Utter confusion prevailed in Ahmednagar, Murtuza Nizam Shah was assassinated by his son Miran Hussain Nizam Shah, who after a year, was murdered by Jumal Khan who usurped the power and put up his puppet Ismail Nizam Shah. Ibrahim was watching all these developments and thought that this was an opportune moment to strike and liquidate the age - old enemy, the Nizam Shahi dynasty of Ahmednagar. Along with Dilwar Khan he marched against Ahmednagar. But Jumal Khan, instead of facing the enemy, sued for peace. Ibrahim granted peace on condition that the Princess Khadija, sister of Ibrahim Adil Shah, and widow of the late Hussain Nizam Shah should be sent back to his brother; also that the court of Ahmed-

nagar should pay the expenses of the war.ⁱ Both the above conditions were accepted by Jamal Khan and were complied with.

Peace between Bijapur and Ahmednagar was always shortlived. In 1589, again Ibrahim marched against Ahmednagar along with Dilwar Khan. Jamal Khan, the regent of Ahmednagar, also proceeded to face the enemy. In the vicinity of Dharasur the two armies faced each other. Jamal Khan was a strategist and had posted his army under cover of pits and boulders. Dilwar Khan, overconfident of his victory, made a dash and was replused. The initial set back was so disheartening and the damage so great that the Bijapur army retreated leaving Dilwar Khan and his troops to face the consequences. Dilwar Khan made another attempt and attacked with such ferocity that, for the time being, the enemy was left in a confused state. But, ultimately, Jamal Khan returned the attack and forced Dilwar Khan to flee.

Dilwar Khan's hold on Ibrahim was much too tight to be relished. The displeasure of the king further increased when Dilwar Khan treacherously imprisoned one of the king's favourite Bulil Khan and deprived him of his eye sight. Ibrahim secretly escaped in 1592 and joined a party opposed to Dilwar Khan. Dilwar Khan out of fright fled to Ahmednagar and persuaded Nizam Shah to invade Bijapur with his assistance.ⁱⁱ Ibrahim Nizam Shah agreed to do so and sent a huge army for the conquest of Bijapur under Dilwar Khan. Ibrahim also moved with his army and very cleverly induced Dilwar Khan to cross the floor and join his camp.

i Ferishta. Briggs Vol. III p. 161

ii Ferishta Briggs pp. 167 - 173

Dilwar Khan who was still loyal to Bijapur throne and who was experiencing great uneasiness by going over to Ahmednagar gladly went over to Ibrahim. Ibrahim was quick and no sooner Dilwar came, he ordered him to be sieged and sent as a prisoner to the fort of Satara. ⁱ

Ibrahim put up a strong defence against Burhan Nizam Shah. Rumi Khan and Elias Khan with their troops defeated several detachments of Ahmednagar. The supplies were cut off and in the words of Ferishta a famine and pestilence prevailed in Ahmednagar camp. To make matters worse, the Ahmednagar troops, tired of a long fatiguing campaign, refused to fight any more. In a situation like this, Burhan Nizam Shah had no option but to sue for peace. He demolished the fort he had built in Bijapur dominions and was allowed to retreat in 1592 A D

Ibrahim Adil Shah after getting rid of Dilwar Khan, and defeating Burhan Nizam Shah, settled down in his State. He restored law and order and appointed Rumi Khan Deccani as commander of his army.

Ibrahim Adil Shah deputed his army to go round the Malabar coast and collect tribute from Rayas. Manju Khan went as far as Bunkapur and halted. He summoned all the Rayas to pay their annual tributes. Most of the Rayas were ready to comply with the request but for Ganganai, the principal Raya of Malabar who, circulated a false alarm that Manju Khan was secretly planning for the destruction of all of them. The Rayas therefore dispersed to their respective territories leaving Manju Khan high and dry. However, he proceeded against Arsapanaik of Jerrah. For three days

i Ferishta. Briggs p. 167-173

Manju Khan was busy facing skirmishes and finally, for no known reason, Arsafa himself voluntarily surrendered and paid the stipulated tribute. Manju Khan assisted by these two Rayas proceeded to Mysore and induced Venkatadri Naik to whom Mysore belonged to pay the annual tribute.

Manju Khan would have continued with his campaign if news had not been received that Ibrahim's brother Prince Ismail, second son of Tahmasp revolted against the king and occupied the fort of Belgaum on 12th May 1593. From conditions prevailing, as recorded by Ferishta, it appears that Bijapur was heading for a war of succession. Ismail was supported by the Ahmednagar king, Burhan Nizam Shah, and gained the support of some of the notable Amirs of Bijapur like Ainul Mulk, Amir-ul-umra and the adopted son of Ankus Khan. Ismail got Khutba read in his name and settled down in the fortress of Belgaum.

To quell the revolt of his brother, Ibrahim Adil Shah deputed Elias Khan with 6,000 men. Elias Khan laid siege to the fort and cut off all the supplies. It is said that while outwardly Ain-ul-Mulk supported Ibrahim's forces, secretly he supplied grains and other necessities to Prince Ismail. This news reached Ibrahim Adil Shah who quietly invited Ainul Mulk for favour of advice. Ibrahim showered all kindness on Ainul Mulk when he reached Bijapur so that he may give up his anti-Ibrahimism and rally round the banner of Ibrahim Adil Shah. Ain-ul-Mulk was implacable. He continued his correspondence with Ismail and gave him all help. He requested Burhan Nizam Shah to help Ismail and offered to prevail upon Ismail to deliver the forts of Sholapur and Shah Durg to Ahmednagar. Finding the

offer very attractive, Burhan Nizam Shah marched against Ibrahim. Meanwhile the Rayas of Malabar had also become active and started harassing Elias Khan. Elias Khan was thus forced to give up the siege and return to Bijapur in order to help Ibrahim.

Meanwhile Ain-ul-Mulk persuaded Prince Ismail to come up in the open. He collected large army of 20,000 persons and 10,000 horses to lead an attack on the Bijapur forces. Ibrahim Adil Shah, in spite of his previous reverses, did not lose his nerve and depute Hamid Khan to meet the rivals. Hamid Khan under the pretext of calling upon the Prince launched upon such a fierce attack that both the Prince and Ain-ul-Mulk were taken unawares. Ain-ul-Mulk was killed and the Prince Ismail was taken prisoner.

Burhan Nizam Shah with the assistance of the Raya of Penkonda again invaded the territories of Bijapur. Purenda and its adjacent territories were plundered by Murtuza Khan Anju. But Burhan Nizam was taken seriously ill and consequently died. He was succeeded by his son Ibrahim.

Ibrahim Nizam Shah kept the torch burning and continued the war. He was rash and on this account had to give his life on the battlefield. The Ahmadnagar army, with the loss of its ruler lost its nerve and retreated judiciously. It was relatively easy for Ibrahim Adil Shah to release the fatal blow and subjugate the Ahmadnagar Kingdom at this critical stage. If he had done this the perennial warfare between the two houses would have come to an end. Additionally, the Bijapur dominions would have expanded substantially. But for reasons best know to him, such an

action was not considered appropriate and instead, Ibrahim diverted his attention to the Rayas of the old Vijayanagar who were again showing signs of revolt and had besieged the fortress of Adoni.

When information reached the Rayas that the forces of Bijapur were on their way they hurriedly raised the siege of Adoni and repaired to their respective States. Ferishta, however, mentions that they were not allowed to run like that; they were pursued, killed and defeated.

One other battle fought during Ibrahim's reign was against the Moghuls. Akbar was carefully watching the scene in the Deccan. He had come as far as Gujarat where he had set up his son Murad as the Governor. But he scrupulously avoided a combat with the Deccani potentates. The conditions in Ahmadnagar deteriorated to such an extent that Akbar was forced to move and lay siege of the Ahmadnagar fort. Chand Bibi put up a very stout resistance against Murad. Finally, since no help came from the neighbouring Kings of the Deccan, she succumbed and agreed to hand over Berar to the Moghuls who immediately occupied the territory and set up Daniyal, another son of Akbar, as the Governor.

The Deccan potentates were taken by surprise by this new development. The danger from the Moghuls loomed large and unless it was nipped in the bud, there appeared no security to their own dominions. Chand Bibi took the initiative and invited the Golkonda and Bijapur Kings to drive the Moghuls away. The confederacy, as it was called, faced the Moghuls at Sonapur on the 26th Jan, 1597 but was

defeated. Dissensions in the Moghul Army, however, prevented them from taking advantage of this victory and, therefore, no damage accrued to the vanquished.

After the above event, Ibrahim knew which way the wind was blowing. He extended his hand of friendship to Akbar and agreed to give his daughter in marriage to Prince Daniyal. An ambassador from the Moghul court was also stationed at Bijapur.

Ibrahim's reign marks the climax in the history of Bijapur. It was an eventful reign. It extended the Bijapur dominions along the Konkan Coast and covered the entire Karnatak region including Mysore. Had it not been for Ahmadnagar's perpetual animosity and continuous attacks, Bijapur would have lived in peace giving a more glorious account of its achievements in the field of social, educational and economic advancement. Ibrahim was essentially peace loving and this would have stood him in good stead.

During Ibrahim's reign from 1580 to 1626, Bijapur presented a picture of prosperous living and affluent conditions. Asad Beg, Akbar's emissary, has given a detailed account of Bijapur. From this, it does appear, that Bijapur was prosperous, and the general standard of living was high. Trade and commerce which, always remained in the hand of the Hindus, was in a flourishing state and showed singular prosperity.

The process of integration between the Hindus and the Muslims initiated during the Bahmanids, seems to have reached a state of fulfilment. Not only in Bijapur but throughout the Deccan, the two, Hindus and Muslims appeared to have intermingled and come closer

to each other. This is borne out by Ibrahim's pro Hindu bias in whatever he did. He made Marathi the official language, he could talk to Asad Beg, Akbar's emissary only in that language, and not in Persian to the latter's surprise. He left the entire revenue administration in the hands of the Hindus. He respected Hindu saints, sought their advice as and when necessary. It is mentioned that he had 300 Hindu poets and philosophers in his court, who were encouraged and well paid. It is also mentioned that he worshipped the Hindu Gods. This is correct as some of his State-documents commenced with the words "Az Puja-i-Sri Saraswati". He worshipped God Narsimha whose temple was built in the Citadel. His coins bore the superscription, "Nauras Muhar-i-Adil Shahi Jagatguru Dad Illahi". No wonder, therefore, because of his complete identification with the people that he was called 'Jagatguru' in the Deccan.

The ripples of a historic tide have always been credulous exaggerations. The drama enacted in the excited applause and approbation The whole of India reverberated to the enlarging sounds of synthesis. Akbar's 'Din Illahi' bore a very close resemblance to 'Dad Illahi' of Ibrahim. Again, Ibrahim's complete identification with the local Hindu population and the absorption of the Muslims in the Dravidian cultural stream set a pattern for the rest of India. Similarly, increasing participation of the people in the affairs of Govt. demolished the dividing walls between the ruler and the ruled. They became the actors of the same drama fulfilling their obligations with pride and distinctions, honour and rectitude.

The great speed which characterised the cultural synthesis and Muslim integration into the Hindu mould

had its prodigious claim on languages. Marathi and Kannada came in close touch with Persian and imbibed its good many features, idioms and words. On the other side, the language of the rulers did not maintain its sternest isolation but slowly dissolved itself into Urdu. Urdu born out of Hindu-Muslim fusion, a living symbol of cultural amity, received benign care of the Adil Shahi court and touched its first watermark in written prose and poetry during the reign of Jagatguru'.

Jagatguru himself was the preceptor and the first author in Urdu. In his *Kitab-i-Nauras* Ibrahim employed the new born language with merit and distinction. On the nomenclature of Persian he evolved an idiom with an overwhelming Marathi and Brij connotation. Persian being a semitic language coalesced more with Marathi and Brij than with other Dravidian languages.

In his *Kitab-i-Nauras* he introduced Indian music to the Persian-knowing Muslims of the North. The opening song is a prayer to Saraswati invoking her blessings. He also bestows high praise upon the Prophet of Islam. The book deals with the Hindu ragas like Todi, Kanada, Maru, Malhar, Gaouri, Kalyan, Kedara, Bhopali, Purvi, Dhanaseri, Asawuri, Ramkali, Bhairvi and Bhairav. Ibrahim, himself, was a musician of a great repute,ⁱ and employed many in his court.ⁱⁱ

Like in religion, language and music, Ibrahim established a mixed school of architecture and painting. Architecture will be discussed later on Suffice would

i Basatin, pp. 250 - 251

ii Ibid p. 253.

it be to say that Ibrahim completed the fusion of Persian and Western India style of painting, commenced by Ali Adil Shah into the Bijapur style. In colour, composition and drawing of the lines, as seen from the Ragamala, he fused the Persian and the Rajasthani style yet retaining the angularities of the Deccani styles like elaborate costumes and flowered background. Some years ago, these could be seen at Kamatgi, which made a critic say :

“ Under the patronage of Ibrahim the Bijapur School of Painting reached such a zenith and perfection as to claim for it an important niche in the temple of Indian art.”

Ibrahim, as has been said before, was a man of literature. He employed Ferishta to write a monumental history of the Muslim dynasties. Ferishta was a good pen man, his history is still the most reliable document of the age. In spite of good company, Ferishta could not get over his partial treatment of the national policies and he, basically, like all the muslim chroniclers, revelled in the exploits of his muslim compatriots. Another man of distinction employed by Ibrahim was Zuhuri whose prose and poetry is still the calling of the learned, both in India and outside.

Ibrahim was a great builder. He built Sat Manzil in 1583 ; Malika Jehan Masjid in 1587 ; Anand Mahal in 1589 ; Taj Bavdoi in 1620 ; Sangit Mahal in Nauraspur in 1624 and laid the foundation of Ibrahim Rouza, the pride of all architecture in the Middle ages. ⁱ

i Basatin pp. 245 – 248.

Nauraspur was constructed by Ibrahim; the architect was Shah Nawaz Khan. It was named after a Hindu singer, Nauras.

Here in Bijapur was born the secularism of the present day importance. Here under Ibrahim, lived all the religions in peace ; a national language grew up ; arts and crafts, architecture and painting assumed a national colour. His inflexible perseverance to develop the national solidarity through fusion of races, colours and creeds is still the religion of India-also of the world. Ibrahim's reign was indeed the meridian of glory of an eventful age, which released all progressive impulses to unite and coalesce. Like a bridge, a causeway, it connected the different cultural streams and tended the different islands to form a part of the indivisible whole.

Ibrahim died in 1626, ⁱ leaving behind a cherished memory of achievements, a dependable army of 80,000 horses, cavalry 200,000 and 955 elephants.ⁱⁱ

i Basatin, p. 280

He was also treated by an European Doctor Farmalob.

ii Grant Duff's Marathas, p. 45.

Md. Adil Shah

(1626 AD. to 1656 AD)

Mohammad Adil succeeded his illustrious father when he was 15 years old. No sooner he was crowned, "uneasy lies the head that wears the crown," he had to repel two attacks of the Nizam Shahi forces and quell a rebellion of his governor, Kudam Rao of Bunkapur. Shahji Bhonsle, on his own, because of the turmoil in Ahmednagar kingdom, launched upon a series of campaigns in the Nizam Shahi and Bijapur dominions. His nefarious advance was checked by Murari Pandit who headed the Bijapur army, and Shahji was forced to hide himself in retreat in the fort of Junair. Murari Pandit advanced as far as Poona and Indapur and constructed a fort at Bhouleshwar.¹ Taking advantage of the chaotic conditions prevailing in Ahmednagar, Bijapur forces occupied a portion of the Nizam Shahi dominions."

Shah Jehan, who had an eye on the Nizam Shahi dominions, despatched his army to liquidate the Nizam Shahis. But before an attack was launched Shah Jehan wanted to elicit and enlist the cooperation of Bijapur. He sent Shaik Moinuddin, his emissary to settle the terms. The consensus of opinion in Bijapur was to thwart the designs of the Moghuls and retain Ahmednagar as a buffer State. But Mustafa Khan, the Peshwa, was conceited and prevailed upon others to help the Moghuls in their task and on the condition that the Ahmednagar dominions will be shared equally between them. The Moghul emissary was sent back with greetings and felicitations and for once, the Moghuls and the Bijapuries thought they had come together.

i Waqiat-i-Mamlakat-i-Bijapur p. 230

ii idib p. 281

The Moghul attack on Ahmednagar was released with fire and fury. The Bijapur forces, though committed to help, did not appear because the earlier decision taken by Mustafa Khan was reversed. The Moghuls, betrayed, diverted their batteries towards Bijapur and reached as far as the walls of the town. Small frays and skirmishes between the Moghuls and the Bijapur forces developed into a big event. Murari Pandit with his forces attacked the Moghuls with such a force and fury that the Moghuls had to retreat. The Bijapur army pursued the Moghuls till they reached Purenda, belonging to Ahmednagar which they occupied without any opposition. They went as far as Daulatabad and occupied this fort.

To Shah Jehan, Asaf Khan's reversal was a great disappointment. He sent another battalion under Mahabat Khan. In the first engagement that took place at Daulatabad between the Moghul and the combined armies of Bijapur and Ahmednagar, Mahabat Khan was pushed to walls. He retreated and in the meanwhile, encouraged by the death of Yakut Khan, the commander-in-chief of Bijapur army, he renewed his attack. Fateh Khan who slipped in place of Yakut Khan, fought valiantly. But lack of food, fodder and ammunition forced him to sue for peace. Peace was granted and through a strategem, Mahabat Khan on the pretext of receiving the peace-makers, arrested both Fateh Khan and Hussain Nizam Shah and sent them to Delhi.

In the meanwhile, the Bijapur forces under Murari Pandit and Shahji for the Nizam Shahis, renewed their fight with the Moghul forces who were eventually forced out of the Deccan.

After throwing out the Moghuls from the Dec-

can the position of the Bijapur Sultan elated. But, at home, a climate of intense intrigue and mutual rivalry rapidly developed. Mustafa Khan who was at the helm of the affairs was treacherously imprisoned by Khawas Khan who instantly, strengthened his position by nominating his relations, friends and supporters to positions of responsibility. He employed all dubious means to oust his opponents and shrink the authority of the king. His bulwark of strength was the famous Murari Pandit. Khawas Khan also sent a messenger to Shah Jehan inviting him to attack Bijapur when he would himself support the Moghuls. With such nefarious activities, the cycle of Khawas Khan's highhandedness had come full circle, and therefore, the king with the active support of his people and Amirs hatched a plot to get rid of Khawas Khan. As a result, one Siddi Rehan, the confidant of the king stabbed Khawas Khan to death and later, Murari Pandit met the same fate.

Meanwhile, at the invitation of Khawas Khan, the Moghul army had already reached Daulatabad. Mohammed Adil Shah was not in a position to face the Moghuls openly, he divested all the valleys round the Bijapur of food, fodder and men so that the Moghul army would have only poisoned water to drink. Shah Jehan was taken aback by these tactics and stopped his advance. Better sense prevailed on both the sides and the contending parties, ultimately, concluded a treaty of peace, under which the Nizam Shahi dominions were divided between the two. River Krishna was the dividing line; all area towards Bijapur was of the Adil Shahis and the rest of the Moghuls. Mohammad Adil Shah also promised to pay a tribute of Rs. 20.00 lakhs annually to the Moghuls.'

Later, on very filmsy pretext, Shah Jehan tried to revive his acrimony with Bijapur and sent an emissary to seek clarification of certain things done by the Bijapur Sultan. The peace-loving king, Mohammed Adil sent a cogent and convincing reply so that the Moghul lion was not obliged to leave his den.

During the period of Mohammed Adil Shah, the Bijapur kingdom expanded on all sides. Half of the Nizam Shahi dominions, the whole of Karnatak as far as Mysore were annexed to the Bijapur kingdom. On the Andhra side, Mohammed Adil extended himself as far as Ellore and in Madras, his last conquest was of the famous fort of Gingee. It is said that the conquest of Gingee gave the Adil Shahis wealth to the extent of 40 millon Hoons.

Mohammed Adil was an illustrious son of a remarkable father. During his period, Bijapur claimed the biggest army in the Deccan, comprising of 3½ lakhs cavalry, 2 lakhs, artillery, 11000 elephants and unlimited infantry.ⁱ

Bijapur dominions expanded during the reign of Mohammed Adil. They comprised 281 Parganas with a total income of Rs. 7,84,61,017. Income from various parts was as followsⁱⁱ

	(Rupees)
1. Dabul	7000
2. Kel	7000
3. Jewal	15000
4. Sunker	10000
5. Rejapur	24000

i Wakh-i-yat Mamlakat-i-Bijapur p. 271

ii Wakiat - i - Mamlakat - i - Bijapur p. 270

6.	Sahti	10000
7.	Khadi	5000
8.	Pondichery	5000
9.	Satoli	35000
10.	Mohammadabad	5000
11.	Kera	5000

The tributes received were from the following :

1.	from Zamindars of Srirapatam	
2.	„ „	
3.	„ „	Sondha
4.	„ „	Chiturdurg
5.	„ „	Jarimalla
6.	„ „	Toikhed
7.	„ „	Ratnagiri
8.	„ „	Sripati
9.	„ „	Pakar
10.	„ „	Manekapalla
11.	„ „	Chakapalla
12.	„ „	Gornigir
13.	„ „	Munori
14.	„ „	Hakalwari
15.	„ „	Wekar
16.	„ „	Hermanhelli
17.	„ „	Kondi
18.	„ „	Kelluri
19.	„ „	Kanakgiri
20.	„ „	Balhari
21.	„ „	Sorikotli
22.	„ „	Sukarkursi

The total amount of tribute received, according to “Wakh-i-yat,” was Rs. 5.6 lakhsⁱ and was over and and above the budgetted income.

i Wakh-i-yat- p. 271

This figure does not seem to be correct. Even as per the details given by the author, the total amount will be Rs 1 crore.

Mohammed Adil was, like his predecessors, a great builder. During his reign, Bijapur received the finishing and final touches to its accumulated glory and new specimens in advanced architecture and painting. Asar Mahal, originally named Dad Mahal and Gol Gumbad with its famous whispering gallery, were new additions in the architectural treasures of Bijapur. Greater still was the contribution of Mohammed Adil who bestowed on Bijapur the famous water works by constructing another reservoir, Begum Lake which supplemented the existing water supply and carried water in earthen pipes of 15 ft. diameter cased in masonry of 8'x6' and at a depth varying from 15' to 50'. As a result of this, water supply in the town and palaces became plentiful. These water works were constructed between 1651-1653 under the expert supervision of Afzal Khan.

True to the Adil Shahi tradition, Mohammed Adil's devotion to the welfare of his subjects was proverbial. Two true stories have become the legends of the past. One records that one evening, standing on the terrace of his palace, Mohammed Adil saw smoke coming out of all localities except from that of the Brahmins. His suspicion that the Brahmins were too poor to afford an evening meal came true when an enquiry was duly instituted. He, therefore, raised the salary of the Brahmins two fold, with immediate effect. The second legend has it that the 'Banias' of a locality quitted Bijapur as one of them was insulted by a Sweeper sitting at the entrance gate of the locality. Mohammed Adil prevailed upon the Banias to return and constructed a special gate of entrance for the Bania locality so that in future they need not go through the old gate and the sweeper colony. This gate is still existing and is called "Badshah Darwaza."

Due to his benevolent attitude towards his subjects, Hindus and Muslims received ample freedom to coalesce with each other and come nearer in shaping a common culture for the people. Each one of them injected new impulses and made the fibres of assimilation stronger. In art and architecture, painting and music, a common school based on the best of the two matured. So was it with common language, Hindustani or the Urdu as it may be called, which received the ample patronage and the fostering care of Md. Adil. No less a poet than Mulla Nusrati wrote some of the most elegant Deccani poetry.

Intermingling of both the Hindu and Muslim cultures charged the battery of social fibre. In the domain of morals, religion, customs and rituals, dress and food and in all other social spheres, the two great people came nearer to each other and effortlessly modified themselves to avoid friction and ceremonial orthodoxy. While each maintained its entity, they functioned as the two limbs of the body politic. And this sense of oneness, an intense attachment with each other a feeling of common brotherhood shaped their attitude towards the country. To both, the Deccan, became their home, their *terra-firma*-their common mother who nursed, nurtured and nourished them. Nationalisation thus born in the plains of the Deccan, became later the driving force of the Maratha hegemony whose echoes, inspired the martyrs of the Mutiny and resounded in the song of freedom and liberation.

CHAPTER IV

The Adilshahi Sunset.

The paths of glory lead but to the grave. An ideal monarch, a jagatguru, a kind just, and an able administrator, a stalwart in the field of battle yet essentially peace-loving, a painter, calligraphist, an architect, a sculptor and a top musician, the builder of Naurasapur, Ibrahim scaled the highest path of glory. Yet, when the call of death came, his glory, might, power and scholarship was of no avail, he succumbed to it meekly only to live in the annals of history.

The ebbs and tides, the rise and fall of kings and kingdoms is but a recurring phenomenon of history. It looks as if a hero, a saviour is thrown as foam on the crest of a wave which very soon batters against the rocks of eternity and physical annihilation and submerges itself in the common stream of life. What is again a historical truth is that the uncommon does not stay and live beyond the ordained span. The few nobler moments pass away as thunder and lightning only giving place ultimately to the uneventful flow of eternity and the stable mediocrity which is the world all round.

The momentum of activity generated by Ibrahim and later by Mohammed soon acquired the poise and peace of a dying man. The convulsions which shook the world in India and the moribund strata of a static civilization, transformed themselves into a last flicker of a dying flame. The forces of darkness enveloped, spread and

overtook the Adilshahi sunshine and Mohammed Adil's successors were too young to halt the sunset. They succumbed to the murmers of the Moghul earthquake and relinquished their kingdom to Aurangzeb who, again like all the destroyers of society, closed the poignant history of an enlightened dynasty and put the wheels of an advancing civilization back to a rebirth and a regeneration, which was difficult to perceive.

Meadows Taylor ascribes the downfall of the Bijapur kingdom to Ibrahim's pro-Maratha policies. He feels that Ibrahim enlisted Marathas into his army and gave them positions of strength in government and the Marathas did not remain true and loyal to their master. This view, however, needs to be reconsidered.

The downfall of the Bijapur power was mainly due to the weak successors of Mohammad Adil and the rise of the Maratha power on one hand and the Moghuls on the other. The political situation in the Deccan was changing rapidly. One after another, the ruling dynasties of the Deccan were showing strong tendencies of decline and dissolution. For lack of unity among them they were becoming victims of the Moghul invaders who had like an encircling hydra devoured the Nizam Shahis in 1627. Soon after the death of their famous prime minister, Malik Ambar, Shahji Bhonsle tried his best to keep the Nizamshahi torch burning by proclaiming a successor to the throne of the Nizamshahis and by establishing his authority over a small territory. But his struggle, however, came to an end. He had to yield before the superior forces of Shah Jehan only to enter into the service of Bijapur kings in 1637.

Thus, it would be seen, that with the conquest of the Ahmednagar kingdom the Moghuls had only two

adversaries left in the Deccan. The Adil Shahis and the Qutub Shahis. To Aurangzeb, the Moghul Subedar of the Deccan, both the Muslim kingdoms of the Deccan were an eyesore. He intensely detested "the heretical Shias" of Bijapur and the "licentious" Golkonda kings. He could not see eye to eye with these two ruling houses for their pro-Hindu-leanings and the so called anti-Quran attitude. He, therefore, invaded Bijapur in 1631 and again in 1636. The damage caused by these two Moghul invasions to the countryside was tremendous. Mahmud Shah, who succeeded, Mohammed Adil Shah, was so struck with his ravage, rapine and plunder that, without hesitation, he promised to pay a tribute of Rs. 20.00 lakhs per year to the Moghul Monster. Perhaps this was the only means available to stop the progress of the Moghul destruction.

It was, thus, apparent that the Moghuls were in no mood to tolerate the existence of either the Adil Shahis or the Qutub Shahis. Sooner or later, both these Deccan kingdoms had to face the Moghuls with a determination to do or die. The chances of their putting up a united resistance against the Moghuls were remote and the realisation that they were the two eyes of the Deccan and if one of them got mutilated the chances of the liquidation of the other were certain, was extinct. In a situation like this, it was but natural that the local Hindu and Marathas should have risen to face the Moghuls. The attitude and the policies of Aurangzeb were an open secret. His fanaticism, and anti-national policies created intense consternation and abhorrence among the minds of people. And very correctly, the Hindus realised that their old masters, the Adil Shahis were in no position to save them and therefore they rallied round the banner of Shivaji to face the Moghul onslaught.

Ranadeo's assessment of the religious appeal involved in the upsurge of Hindus was more than a fact.

For Shivaji, the courses to be adopted were two: one, that he brought about an understanding between the Adil Shahis and the Qutub Shahis and created a united front against the Moghuls. Two, that he himself organised a movement of resistance at all costs. The first course was difficult to be adopted because, politically, Shivaji was not so well placed that he could assume the role of a peace-maker on the basis of equality with either the Adilshahis or the Qutubshahis.ⁱ Further, purely personal reasons and the ambition to set up a viable Hindu State prompted Shivaji to adopt the second course and in doing so he, evidently, built himself up at the expense of the Adilshahis. No less significant was the fact that the conditions obtaining in the Deccan at this time were helpful to Shivaji and sooner or later he could count on them. The revenue management was in the hands of the Hindus. The western Ghats and the Movals were in the hands of the Maratha chiefs. Chander Rao More was in charge of the Ghat-Matha; the Sawants were in charge of the Southern Konkans; the Nimbalkars were in power in Fattan; Dafles and Nanes in eastern Sataraⁱⁱ; and he himself was in charge of the Poona Movals. The Ghorpades, Ghadges, Mahadiks, Mohites and Mammulkars had also considerable army at their command.ⁱⁱⁱ With so many Hindu chiefs around him, Shivaji correctly assessed that the creation of the Hindu State may not become difficult. His calculating prudence that the parched grass of Hindu genius could be kindled amid the forests of the Sahyadri mountains

i As Sarkar rightly points out, his position vis-a-vis Adil Shahis was that "of a rebellious son of a vassal Jagirdar"

ii Rise of the Maratha Power. Ranade

iii Ibid

to burst forth in a spreading flame was a historical fact. If the flames had to burn out the Adilshahis in order to save the country from the high-handed Moghuls, it was an inevitable historical destiny.

Mohammed Adil Shah's protracted illness from 1646-1656 was a real bolt from the blue for the Adilshahis. Monarchy, as long as it was healthy, lasted like a living organism. But afflicted, it soon displays signs of decay and defeat. The Adilshahis, though still commanded respect, loyalty, and full support of the people because of their secularism and deep affection of the people, yet their government with the integrating mushened chiefs, made Bijapur a Pandora's box, a perpetual chain of invidious rivalry, thoughtless and disloyal acrimony. The Maratha chiefs like Shahji Bhonsle in Konkan, Murari Pandit the Savants, the Dalvets, the Nimbalkars, the Manes and Ghadges remained dead loyal to Bijapur, often times fighting against Shivaji; the Muslim chiefs on the contrary, due to the rise of Moghul power were showing definite signs of turbulence and revolt. Khawas Khan, had already invited Emperor Shah Jehan to invade Bijapur.

When Mullah Ahmed, the governor of Poona, was waiting on Shah Jehan, Shivaji very cleverly seized his power and made himself secure. He organised himself well in these Paraganas and slowly spread himself into the others. One by one he had sent his own account of events with presents and he took possession of the various small jagirs 'around Poona. Before the jagirdars could appeal to Bijapur for offerings, charging the jagirdars with some offence and offering to pay advanced rents direct to the government of Bijapur. He communicated these matters to Bijapur officials who in those disturbed times, took little heed

of what anyone didⁱ. Shivaji thus methodically collected a large Maratha force and with the help of the great heroes of Maratha history, like Tanaji Malusare Netaji Palkar, Dadoji and Pingle, set about reducing the small jagirs annexing them to his own.ⁱⁱ He recognised his estate in consultation with Badoji and methodically proceeded to equip himself adequately. Oftentimes the Maratha force would attack a flourishing town or village and collect money.ⁱⁱⁱ Thus, in fostering his plan of establishing a Hindu State, Shivaji had decided to spare none. Ends justifying the means, he collected money from all sources because he knew that sooner rather than later he had to face the Bijapur armies. Mohammed Adil Shah's sickness for ten year, from 1646-1656 A. D. created lot of confusion and helped Shivaji in executing his plans for the dismemberment of the Adil Shahis.

The protracted illness of Mohammed Adil Shah gave Shivaji ample scope to extend, consolidate and arm himself. After making adequate preparations, he first reduced the fort of Torana in 1646 followed by his occupation of other forts like Rajgharh, Chakna, and Kondana.^{iv} He fortified himself in these forts and equipped them with sufficient men, money, food and fodder.

Through a stratagem, he entered the fortress of Purandar as a guest of Shankerji on the Diwali day and three days later, he captured all the three brothers who commanded the fort. Next, he turned his attention to Javli in 1656 which was under the command of Chander Rao, More – a Bijapur jagirdar. Javli was rich and had

i Muntakhabul - lubab - Khafi Khan p. 46

ii Shivaji by Sarkar p. 21, p. 30

iii Ibid

iv Shivpur Deshpande - Bali gives the date of occupation as 1647.

12,000 infantry.ⁱ Shivaji sent an army of 125 picked men under the pretence of making some proposal to Chandar Rao. While he was discussing one of the Shivaji's trusted follower, Raghunath suddenly stabbed Chandar Rao to death. Soon after this, Shivaji attacked Javli and conquered it. Javli's conquest strengthened Shivaji's plans, both financially and militarily. Two miles away from Javli he constructed the famous fort of Pratabgarh. Again he acquired Supa through a surprise attack and completed his acquisition of the South-eastern Poona and was ready to land on the Konkan Plain.

Aurangzeb's departure from the Deccan helped Shivaji to extend his dominions. By 1659, he had established himself in Northern Konkan from Mahuli to Mahad.ⁱⁱ

i Shivaji by Sarkar p. 41.

ii Ibid p. 57.

ALI ADIL SHAH II

1656 - 1672 AD.

Soon after his accession Ali Adil Shah II faced the Moghul invasion launched by Aurangzeb.ⁱ It was again a wanton aggression and the whole country was ravaged and plundered. Since Aurangzeb heard of the serious illness of his father, he vacated the siege and hurried to Agra. It is reported by Khafi Khan that he accepted a promise from the Adil Shahi king to pay a tribute of a crore of rupees in cash.

It is mentioned that while the Moghul army was camping between two narrow passes, the Bijapur army under Mohammed Khan attacked it. There was no escape for Aurangzeb and he saw his inevitable destruction and doom. He, therefore, sued for peace and promised complete non-interference in the affairs of Bijapur. Mohammed Khan, brought up in the manly traditions of the Marathas, went by Aurangzeb's word and let him go.ⁱⁱ This treatment of Mohammed Khan was not well received at home since it was neither prudent nor wise to show mercy to the wicked and he was massacred by the people mercilessly. This again indicated the solid support the Adil Shahis enjoyed and the chagrin in which Moghuls were held.

Ali Adil Khan could not keep silent and called upon his commander Afzal Khan to punish Shivaji. Grant Duff says that Afzal Khan had the choicest army

i It is significant to note that Shah Jehan refused to recognise Ali Adil as a successor. He addressed a communication to Bijapur on this subject and received a curt reply.

ii Wakh-i-yat Mamlakat-i-Bijapur pp. 283-284.

supported by artillery and rockets.ⁱ It does appear that Afzal Khan's expedition infused awe and fear in Shivaji's mind. He commenced negotiations to conclude peace. It was decided that both the leaders should meet all alone for a change of heart and the venue fixed was under the hill fort of Pratapgarh. They had to meet alone. Although Khafi Khan thinks that Afzal Khan was unarmed for this meeting, the Hindu historians of the Indian history have all along maintained that both of them were armed to kill each other. This is supported by the version of the English factors.ⁱⁱ Thus it was a virtual battle of wits, one who acted with vigility and promptitude was the winner. Shivaji, in the act of embracing Afzal Khan, attacked with his disguised claws and killed him on the spot. The vanity stricken Khan was, on the contrary trying to strangle Shivaji in his embrace. The concealed troops of Shivaji, then, fell upon the army of Afzal Khan and killed them outrightⁱⁱⁱ

The young Ali Adil Khan, then, deputed Salabat Khan to capture Shivaji. Shivaji, again, found himself weak and personally went to Salabat Khan who pardoned him. But Ali Adil was unhappy at this and therefore, himself advanced. Shivaji thought it prudent to quit the fort of Parnala which was occupied by the Bijapuris. But Shivaji, later, recaptured Parnala and very nearly carried his incursion to the high walls of Bijapur capturing, however, Rajapur and Dhabol only. A third army was sent from Bijapur which besieged Parnala. Here Shivaji was caught unawares in a fatal trap, and his capture appeared inevitable. But Baji Prabhu faced

i Grant Duff Marathas p. 76

ii Rajapur factory records. Fryer (ii) p. 61

iii "All who begged quarters holding grass between their teeth were spared, the rest were put to the sword".

the Bijapur army and arranged for the safe escape of Shivaji to Rangana.ⁱ Baji Prabhu along with handful of people was captured and killed fighting a heroic battle to deliver safe his master and saviour, the great Shivaji.

A fourth expedition was led by the Bijapur king in person in 1661-1662. The war continued for a year when in 1662 due to the intervention of Shahji peace was concluded through which Shivaji's suzerainty over the whole Konkan coastⁱⁱ from Kalyan to Goa, from Bhima to Varna, was accepted by the Bijapur king.ⁱⁱⁱ

A lull before the storm, Bijapur enjoyed 4 years of the much wanted peace. Neither Aurangzeb nor Shivaji dare disturb it. Since the emphasis changed, the Maratha fighter of the liberty was involved in a chain of bouts with the Moghul oppressor. Shivaji like the amour of a woman, was always shifting in his tactics. Shayista Khan was continously pursuing him without any tangible result. Exasperated, Shivaji landed his famous attack on Shayista Khan, in his own camp. Shayista Khan, thus humiliated, was recalled and the stalwart Raja Jai Singh was deputed to capture both the mountain rat and the Bijapur.

Raja Jai Singh pursued Shivaji so vigorously that finally he had to hand over the keys of 23 forts with 40 lakhs of rupees to the Raja,^{iv} only 12 small forts with small revenue he retained in his possession. Raja Jai Singh also persuaded Shivaji to go to Agra and accept the service of the fanatic Aurangzeb^v

i Vishalgarh according to Sarkar p. 76.

ii Wakh-i-yat Mamlakat-i-Bijapur p. 302

iii Marathas by Grant Duff p. 85.

iv Shivaji by Sarkar, p. 12 and p. 131.

v It was also agreed that Shivaji would conquer the lowlands of Konkan and retain them after paying 40 lakhs of hoons in 13 yearly instalments — Sarkar p. 129 - 138.

After having disposed off Shivaji to the imperial court, Raja Jai Singh along with some of Shivaji's experienced Maratha commanders marched to Bijapur. The territory of Bijapur was taken by storm and after 2 months the Moghul army attacked Bijapur. Pressing danger roused the old chivalrous people in Bijapur, Hindus and Muslims, who fought so valiantly under the leadership of Khawas Khan that the Moghuls under Jai Singh were beaten. The country around the capital was laid waste and no supplies were available. Even water became scarce. Plague broke out and Jai Singh, therefore, seeing no prospect of taking the city, raised the siege and retreated to Aurangabad pursued by the Bijapur horse.¹

Another attempt was made by the Moghuls in 1673 AD under the command of Diler Khan and Islam Khan Rumi to conquer Bijapur. Again the Moghul armies were repulsed and the heroic effort made by the people of Bijapur saved the Adilshahis once again. Thus it would be clear that in spite of all the odds with financial difficulties at home, the Bijapuris were loyal to the Adilshahis and were set to shed the last drop of blood for their beloved god-fearing kings. Even the smallest treachery on the part of any citizen was considered reprehensible. Like Mohammed Khan, Khawas Khan who was acting the part of a traitor was mercilessly killed by the people.

After his escape from Agra, Shivaji appears to have realised that it was necessary for him to keep the Bijapur and Golkonda kings in good humour and if possible to arrive at a settlement with them against the Moghuls. Masud Khan who was at the helm of the

affairs at Bijapur also realised the necessity of such an alliance with the Marathas. The two came together and renounced violence against each other. Meanwhile, however, Shivaji died and was succeeded by his imbecile son, Shambhaji.

The Muslim historians were to a great extent correct that Shambhaji was absorbed in pleasures and dissolved in luxury. He failed to realise the danger on hand. His handling of the Moghuls was almost the cavalier like. The understanding reached between his father and the Qutubshahis and the Adilshahis to face the Moghuls together, was not appreciated and, perhaps, understood by him. With the result, the unity of the three rulers in the Deccan broke asunder and the Marathas, the Adilshahis and the Qutubshahis started flowing like separate streams in different directions till two of them got submerged in the Moghul sea.

Even Adil Shah II died young when he was 35. A promising youth who lived only to brave the troubles— an unblossomed flower who stood the unkind winds hitting him hard with frost and with an accelerated velocity. Yet, in his short interval of respite, he developed the Deccani Hindi and actively patronised all the fine arts including the Deccani school of painting. He conceived of a magnificent plan to construct a gigantic Mausoleum but life never smiled on him, never was it willing to spare. Yet the basement he built and the ruins he left are still the finest in Bijapur.

Ali Adil was succeeded by his ill-fated Sikandar 1672. Sikandar was only five years when he ascended the throne. Sikandar saw all round him the smouldering fire. In his father's time, the forest was kindled. One

by one, the Muslim Governors raised their banner of turbulence, even their best Salabat Khan crossed the floor to worship the fading Moghul sun. The fort of Turgall manned by an Abyssinian Siddi Yakut had to be reconquered; Adoni and Raichur, which were again governed by the foreigners, had to be recaptured. Bandur and Malabar under Bhadrappa Naik, raised a revolt which had to be suppressed. Thus uprisings were the order of the day and no more could Sikandar bank upon his Muslim governors exclusively. He had to rely only on his popular support from which the Adilshahis always derived great strength and power.

The Marathas fought against the Rajputs of Jai Singh in 1666 and threw them out.ⁱ Sheraz Khan, in a hand to hand heroic fight with the Moghuls repulsed the enemies, and at last the big encounter of Khawas Khan with Jai Singh, undisputably established the superiority of the Bijapur forces. Jai Singh actually ran away for his life, not only from Bijapur but from the remorseless and unsparing fury of the Deccanis.

While, the chivalry and loyalty of the Hindus was still untainted, Sikandar could see that the foreigners in his army were restive. The long war had rendered his finances weak and the army was not paid for long. When the locals bore this smilingly and were prepared to carry fire and sword into the very heart of the Moghuls, the Abyssinians and the Turks resented, and struck work. Still worse were their acts of violence against the rich and the State.ⁱⁱ Law and order inside Bijapur became a legend of the past; made worse through the unending rivalry among the Muslim chiefs and malignant

i Wakh-i-yat p. 329

ii Ibid

jealousy between Sheraz Khan and Masud Khan. Finally Diler Khan's treachery in joining hands with Shivaji and the Moghuls and his designs to usurp the throneⁱ dealt a fatal and the final blow to Adilshahis. To Sikandar fall ecame imminent, the munificence of the preceding age vanished and his great kingdom like that of Vijayanagar, faced an irredeemable destiny written with most unfriendly future. The rivals, both the Moghuls and the Marathas were formidable and an impoverished state, like that of the Adilshahis punctured by internal feuds and remorseless rivalries was no answer to its inevitable dissolution or decay.

To Aurangzeb his persistent defeat in conquering Bijapur and Golkonda was a sore point yf his prestige. He, therefore, marched in person in 1681 A.D, ccpitulated Bidar, Gulbarga, and laid siege at Golkonda. Dramatically enough, he suddenly raised the siege and marched towards Bijapur in person. In Bijapur, Ali Adil Shah II was succeeded by his son Sikandar Adil Shah. The Baijapur army under the command of Abdul Rauf and Sharza Khan put up a stout resistance but as theirsupplies came to an end, Sharza Khan anp the other loyalists were forced to ask for terms of peace on behalf of Sikannar. The Adilshahis capitulated and the young, budding Sultan was ordered to be removed to the fort of Daulatabad It is reported that the Bijapnris recalled and overwhelmed by sentiments of loyalty and deep allachment, lined themselves udon the two sides of the road weeeing like childrenⁱⁱ on the exit of their yonng king. who was hurled in a shameful captivity by his insolent and uncouth captor.

Thus, come to an end the glorious history of the Adilshahi dynasty after perion of 200 yeaes. The Adilshahis kings were thr product of the Deccan bearing,

i Wakh-i-yat pp. 345 - 349.

ii Basatin-i-Salatin.

a rich mixed culture which grew up in the undulating plains of the Deccan. This culture which they truly symbolized and represented, borrowed its verility, vigour and strength from the mountains, richness from the soil, balance from its temperate climate and toleration from the Dravidian philosophy. The Adilshahi state was secular as far as it could go and embraced all religions, caste and creed without any distinction. Its basic theme was the welfare of the people and development of crafts, commerce, trade and the fine arts. There was much to learn for Aurangzeb from the Adilshahi state like what his revered predecessors Akbar and Shahjehan did. But unfortunately, his anti-national attitude and religious intolerance divined and carved out for him a catastrophic niche. The shadows of night lengthened and the nemesis of his empire was writ large.

Bijapur, continuously ruined by the Moghuls, could not regain its glory.ⁱ Once a flourishing cityⁱⁱ of a million people kept on reducing. Kambakhsh was appointed as the Governor of Bijapur, but during the fratricidal war that followed the death of Aurangzeb, Bijapur again became a battle-field between Kambakhsh and Nizam-ul-Mulk. Kambakhsh was defeated and slain and Bijapur passed under the ill-gotten rule of Hyderabadⁱⁱⁱ

In 1760, Bijapur was ceded by the Nizam to Balaji Peshwa. It is mentioned "during the period it was under the Marathas, the city was suffered heavily." Thus, through such fatal wounds and ignominious onslaught the picture of desolation became complete and by 1840 Bijapur soon faded into a sinister oblivion and irreparable decay.

i Basatin-i-Salatin-

ii Silcock's Bijapur, p. 47-48.

iii Elliot and Dawson, vol. VII, pp. 386, 390, 406.

CHAPTER V

THE ADILSHAHIS AND THE PORTUGUESE

The home of spices, South India, has had continuous trade with big and small countries of the East and West. From times immemorial spices, mainly pepper, used to be supplied and in return South India received luxury or consumer goods, horses, arms and ammunition.

The spices of South India had a special significance to countries in the West. At a time when refrigeration was not in existence, the only way to preserve meat was to paste it with pepper and salt. This process was called powdering. During the days of Holy Roman Empire, even sour wine used to be mellowed with spices. Till the 17th century, the food tastes in Europe were very similar to those existing in India. Spiced food was considered a hall mark of nobility and respectability.

The demand for spices urged the Westerners and the Arabs to maintain trade relations with the South India. In spite of the untold dangers of the sea and the watery grave, merchants found it worth their while to reach the ports of eastern and western coasts of India and buy their merchandise. They took this to the flourishing trade centres, Constantinople and Alexandria, from which places the Indian merchandies was distributed through Venice and Genoa to the various centres in Europe. Spices were bought in Calicut and carried to Jedda in red sea. Ad valorem duty of 1/3rd

was to be paid to Egypt. From Jedda, the merchandise went in smaller boats to Suez and then by camels to Cairo and Alexandria and by boats down the Nile. At each place, an *ad valorem* duty was charged which, again with the additional Italian charges, found its way even into countries beyond the Alps.

During the 17th century, the western countries realised the desirability of seeking a direct route to India. Their relations with the Turks were enmical and therefore self help to procure spices was the best help. These motives coincided with the developments in the arts of ship-building and navigation which made it possible to venture on long voyages on unknown sea. The knowledge and the motives found a focus in the Spain and Portugal. The people of both the countries were filled with crusading zeal because of the long and successful wars with the Moors and both the countries had access to the technical skill. Spain Went west to discover the new world. The Portuguese under the lead of Prince Henry, the navigator, felt their way down the coast of Africa during the middle of the fifteenth century. Bartholomew Diaz rounded the Cape of Good Hope in 1486 and Vasco da Gama arrived in Calicut in 1498.¹

It was not, however, easy for the Portuguese to capture the spice trade of South India which was for centuries being handled by the Arab traders, the Moors and the Persians. The four important sea ports which controlled the entire spice trade in South India were Calicut, Cochin, Dabul and Goa. Calicut was under the famous Zamorins, while Cochin was under the suzerainty of a native ruler. Dabul and Goa, the famous

ports of the Bahmanids, were controlled by the Adil Shahis. At all these four ports, the Arab traders had firmly established themselves. Their relations with the ruling chiefs were extremely cordial and friendly since through a process of continuous trade for centuries they had also developed very close cultural affinities with the local population. In fact, the Moors had adapted themselves to such an extent that for all purposes they came to be recognised as one from the soil. They spoke the native language, married local women, dressed themselves like the natives and followed all the local customs, rituals and tastes. This being the position, the Portuguese found it extremely difficult, initially to make any inroads into the established Arab and Persian trades.

In the beginning, the role of the Portuguese was to intimidate the Arab traders. They would attack the Arab vessels with their superior artillery, capture the Moors and inflict on them the most heinous and brutal punishment.ⁱ It is reported that in one case they piled up all the captured Moors on the deck of the Arab vessel, tied them with ropes and set fire to the ship in such a way that it should burn itself out as soon as it reached the port.ⁱⁱ By perpetuating these excesses on the Moors the Portuguese not only intimidated the Arabs and the Persians, but also infused awe in the mind of the ruling chiefs. Their superior artillery was their spine and effortlessly, trudging on their back, they constructed a factory at Cochin under the gruesome terror which the Raja of Cochin was unable to countenance.

The first Portuguese Viceroy, Almeida, contemplated only the establishment of factories on the southern coast. His object was mainly to enter the trade and

i The Cambridge History of India-Vol. V - p.12.

ii The Portuguese in India by Danvers-Vol. I - p. 85.

capture it with the bewildered silence of the chiefs who could only be onlookers. He avowedly declared his distaste for the erection of forts or for the establishment of any government in the East. He addressed a letter to his king, Dom Manoel, thus: — “with respect to the forts of Quilon, the greater number of fortresses you hold, the weaker will be your power. Let our forces be on the sea because if we should not be powerful at sea, everything will atonce be against us and even the king of Cochin.” This policy the Portuguese followed for quite some time. Not only did they confine their attention to Kerala, they proceeded further to Cambay, Ormuz and Aden, where they entrenched themselves quite securely in the trade. In other words, the Portuguese in the beginning of the sixteenth century, to a certain extent, captured the entire trade of the Moors and this initial success fired their imagination to making very vigorous effort to consolidate their position in India supported by arms and to look even for political power.

Albuquerque, who succeeded Almeida, was the first Portuguese Vice-roy who thought of establishing an empire in the East. He completely disowned the policy so far followed by Almeida of advancing only the trade interests. He clearly saw that South India presented a spectacle of a divided house. The successor states of Bahmini empire were at loggerheads with each other or with the Vijayanagar empire which still was a bulwark of power. Small states plotting against the smaller and afforded an opportunity to the Portuguese to fall on them like an avalanche, the small and the smaller ones fell a prey to them after the crushing defeat of Zammorin. With so many conflicting forces, Albuquerque thought that the addition of one more power,

namely, the Portuguese, would in no way act to the detriment of the Lisbon Government. In fact, in the plethora of conflicting interest he witnessed in South India, Albuquerque shrewdly saw an opportunity of building up political power under the guise of simple trade and innocent commerce. He advocated construction of ports all along the coast. He, time and again, insisted that the Lisbon government should pay more attention to giving him a larger navy, well equipped. In his communications to the king of Lisbon, he stated that in spite of the Portuguese being relatively a small nation with little population, he could play his cards well against each of the ruling princes in the south so that in a very short time the king of Portugal would fly his mast in south India. With these objectives in view, Albuquerque thought of establishing the Portuguese power securely at Goa. The reasons for the selection were obvious. Goa, of all the maritime ports in the south, "has attained a degree of progress and prosperity not witnessed any where in India.....It was a great emporium of the east and had a highly organised administrative system, currency and coinage. It had drafted mercantile laws and appointed Custom Officers "

On 5th November, 1509, Albuquerque became the second Governor. The first thing he held to accomplish was to destroy Calicut and ruin Zammorin completely. The king of Cochin, who was his ally, helped him in creating disturbances around the border of Calicut so that Zammorin was made busy in quelling these. Calicut was thus left in charge of a few Nairs. Albuquerque with 20, ships carrying 2,000 Portuguese, left Cochin on 31 December 1509 and arrived at Calicut on 3rd January 1510ⁱ. On 4th January, the Portuguese

i Portuguese in India - Danvers, Vol. I page 184.

landed at Calicut and after a lot of destruction of the town, took possession of Calicut. On hearing of this attack, Zammorin hastened to his capital only to witness and assess the grave damage done to his capital. With Zammorin again installed at Calicut, the Portuguese thought that the odds against them were more. They, therefore, got in touch with the king of Vijayanagar, sought his assistance and promised him that all the horses which were being imported by them would in future go to the Vijayanagar kings. These parleys were however, indecisive. In the meanwhile Albuquerque heard of the raging conflicts which the Adilshahis were having with their neighbours, particularly Ahmednagar, and thought that the capture of Goa by him was not now an uphill task. Accordingly on the 25th of February 1510, he sailed towards Goa and reached Goa on the 28th February 1510. The Muslim governor of Goa fled away from the city on the same night and the next morning saw Abulquerque, accompanied by his captains, 1000 Portuguese and 200 Malabarees, marching triumphantly into Goa where he found large quantity of artillery stores, ships, merchandise, horses, besides the unprotected women whom he grossly patronised.

After having obtained possession of Goa, Albuquerque got busy in strengthening the fortification. He correctly surmised that Yusuf Adil Khan would never remain quiet and would hit back. Therefore, he tried to win over the sympathies of the local population by reducing the revenue assessment. To some extent he succeeded as many Hindus were reported to have returned. Danvers even mentions that Abulquerque appointed Hindu officers in the government for the collection of revenue while the Portuguese were exclusively appointed as Thanaidars in several districts.

Albuquerque took over the mint and gave instructions for the coinage of gold, silver and copper money. On all these coins the order of Christ and the name of the king of Libson, De Manoel, were mentioned. Of copper coinage, the smaller was Din Heiro and the larger consisting of 3 Din Heirons was called Leal; the gold coin was called Cruzado consisting of 34 Vintems (2 SL-10 d), each silver Vintem was 1 d.ⁱ

While Albuquerque was busy consolidating in Goa, intelligence was received that Yusuf Adil Khan was on his way to recover Goa. The Portuguese under Cunha, passed over to the mainland of Goa to intercept the march of Yusuf Adil Khan. At every pass Albuquerque stationed his men to checkmate the advance of Yusuf Adil Khan.

But Yusuf Adil Khan was no less a strategist of war, he pitched his camp before Banestarim on the night of 1st May. He sent two Ambassadors to Albuquerque urging him to surrender Goa against which he promised to give him another place on the sea coast where he could erect a fort. These terms were declined and the Portuguese urged that Yusuf should also surrender Dabul to them so that they may erect a fortress in that place. Albuquerque then ordered a strong blockade to be erected between the city so as to keep the Adilshahi forces away from the city. The siege lasted for about a month. On the night of Friday 17th May 1510, the Adilshahi forces succeeded in crossing the pass of Gazi on rafts; but they were all discovered and killed by the Portuguese. But the Adilshahi reinforcements kept on flowing till they reached the banks and routed the Portuguese. The Turks soon forced their way into

i Portuguese in India-Danvers - Vol. I page 191.

the city; exasperated Albuquerque with a body of men attacked them severely forcing them to retreat. But Adilshahi forces poured in larger numbers and Albuquerque was ultimately forced to retreat into his fortress. Albuquerque could not stay in the fortress for long and very soon along with his artillery and men, secretly moved into his ships and left Goa on the 20th May 1510.¹ Thus Goa was regained by Yusuf Adil Khan with almost very little effort.

Albuquerque had left Goa, yet he continued to live in his ships on the Goa coast. Noronha, one of the Portuguese captains, made a serious effort to recapture Goa. He attacked it and in the encounter was, however, repulsed with a severe wound in his knee and died on the 18th July when he was only 24 years of age.

Leaving on Goa coast was not particularly comfortable for Albuquerque and his men. They were subject to great sufferings owing to want of provisions and regular supplies. Exasperated, therefore, Albuquerque left the Goa coast on the 16th of August and reached Anjidiva on the 17th August and anchored off at Canonore on the 26th August.

At Canonore, Albuquerque entered into parleys with the local chief in order to seek his assistance in making one more concerted attack on Goa. Meanwhile Albuquerque received reinforcements from Libson. On the 8th September, 3 ships arrived at Canonore and on the 16th September, 7 more came under Sequeira. Thus Albuquerque had 14 ships at his command with 1500 Portuguese. Thus reinforced, Albuquerque planned to renew his attack on Goa because conditions in Bijapur

¹ Portuguese in India-Danvers- Vol. I p. 199.

were helpful as Yusuf Adil died and the entire State was again, in the throes of a rebirth. There was trouble, turmoil, and rebellions in the Adilshahi state and thus, the opportunity seemed more favourable to Albuquerque for hitting at his target.

Albuquerque summoned the council of his captains and laid before them his proposals for recapturing Goa. The project was opposed by several of them, but Albuquerque stuck to his plans. He wrote to the king of Lisbon, Dom Manoel, on the 12th October, 1510 pointing out to him the importance of Goa, without which he thought that the dominions of Portugal would be incomplete in the east. He paid compliments to the citizens of Goa for their splendid workmanship and ship-building activities and remarked that Goa was wealthy and possessed a grand harbour affording shelter to ships from whichever quarter the wind may blow. He also pertinently remarked that "once in possession of Goa, the kingdom of Deccan would be thrown into such a state of confusion that its conquest and subjugation would become a matter of the greatest ease."

Albuquerque prepared a fleet of 23 vessels with two thousand Portuguese and proceeded to Anjidiva where he remained for 11 days. At last his fleet proceeded to Goa, where most of the ships cast anchor off the bar. Albuquerque held a council of war where it was decided that an immediate attack on Goa was desirable. Still, Albuquerque remained in a state of indecision as the superior forces of the Adilshahis had crossed the river and were camping there. At last Albuquerque decided and renewed his attack on the 25th November. He divided his forces into three companies each one of them attacked the stockades near the fortress. The 3rd

company which was led by Abulquerque himself delivered the attack with great force, agility and precision. The Turks defended themselves for a short while but preferred to retire from the stockades enabling the Portuguese to enter the city. And very shortly, the Turks, who were in the fortress, came out and routed the Portuguese. The Portuguese again fell upon the Turks forcing the Adilshahi forces to retreat. They re-entered the fort and ordered the gates that led to the city to be closed. The Turks on the contrary, in their plight made way to Banestaram. The Portuguese sacked the city of Goa and collected a lot of booty. In a certain Mosque, all the Muslims were huddled up together for life and the Mosque was set up on fire by the Portuguese.

In his letter to king Manoel, dated 22nd December 1510, Albuquerque wrote :

“The letter I wrote to your Majesty about the capture of Goa was despatched the same afternoon, as I determined to send a ship to Cananore to overtake the vessels which were loading there, and instruct them to call here on their way in order to show the natives how great was the power of your Majesty’s fleet. In the capture of Goa the Turks lost over 300 men and the road between Banastery and Gomadaly was covered with the bodies of those who were wounded and died in their attempt to escape. Many were also drowned whilst crossing the river. I afterwards burnt the city in which for four days the carnage was fearful as no quarter was given to anyone. The agricultural labourers and the Brahmins were spared, but of the Moors killed the number was atleast 6,000. It was indeed a great deed, and well carried out. Some of the

principal natives, from whom the Turks had taken their territories, becoming aware that Goa had been captured, came to my assistance, and by taking possession of all the roads leading from the city, out of all escape for the enemy, put them all to the sword, giving no quarter.

“My determination now is to prevent any Moor entering Goa, to lead a sufficient force of men and ships in the place, then with another fleet visit the the Red Sea and Ormuz. The ships which the Moors were building are being completed and launched. I have plenty of iron and nails, etc., and a great number of carpenters, artisans, and labourers, so that any number of vessels your Majesty may desire can be built here. We captured several Moorish women whom I have married to several men who are desirous of settling here.”

“I send your Majesty a sample of their guns and Turkish artillery cast here, a native saddle which was sent to me by the king of Onor. I am sending a messenger with some horses and news of the capture of Goa to the king of Narsynga, in order to see if I can induce him to attack the Turks and desire our friendship. I despatched Diogo Fernandes with 300 men in the galleys and ‘paraos’ to Bamda (a castle five leagues to the north of Goa) where the Turks still remained in force and drive them out towards Condall (another part of Goa) from whence I hope soon to expel them and then nothing more will remain to be done, as the whole territory from Cintagola (Cintacora) to Goa is now your Majesty’s. I beg your Majesty to bear in mind that Goa is

a grand place and in the event of India being lost it can easily be reconquered if we hold such a key as Goa".ⁱ

Meanwhile, the Portuguese were afraid of the renewal of the attack by the son of Yusuf Adil Khan and therefore, Albuquerque entreated his son thus:—
 "You must well know how the Cabaio, your father, used to take the ships of Malabar out of the ports and harbours of the king, my Lord; wherefore it was that I was constrained to go against Goa, and take the city, and there it is that I am occupied in building a very strong fortress. I wish most sincerely that your father had been living that he might know me to be a man of my word. Out of regard for him, I shall ever be your friend and I will assist you against the king of Deccan and against your enemies; and I will cause all the horses (Vijayanagar) that arrive here to be carried to your stations and your marts, in order that you may have possession of them. Fain would I that the merchants of your land would come with white stuffs and all manner of merchandise to this port and take to yours in exchange merchandise of the sea and of the land and horses and I will give them a safe conduct. If you wish for my friendship, let your messengers come to me with your communications and I will send you others on my part who shall convey to you my communications. If you will perform this which I write unto you, by my aid shall you be able to gain possession of much land become a great Lord among the Moors. Be desirous of performing this, for thus it shall be well with you and you shall have great power, and for all that the Cabaio, your father, be dead, I will be your father and bring you up like a son".ⁱⁱ

i Portuguese in India—Danvers— Vol. I pp. 211-212.

ii Portuguese in India – Danvers- p. 214.

The capture of Goa sent a wave of consternation throughout the Deccan. All neighbouring kings sent their emissaries to Albuquerque seeking his friendship. Even the great enemy of the Portuguese, Zamorin, sent his Ambassador to solicit the friendship of the Portuguese. Albuquerque fortified Goa and made such arrangements that all ships passing through Goa waters should halt at Goa and deliver their merchandise. Thus compelled, all ships came to Goa, and in a very short time, Goa became a premier port of the South.

Albuquerque restored the administration in Goa and allowed his men to marry local women so that in course of time, the integration became complete. "Portuguese with Indian wives were treated as a privileged class for appointment to petty officers and given portions of the conquered territory. Newly converted christians who married Hindu or Muslim women were also treated as a privileged class. The Portuguese also inaugurated slave trade by seizing able-bodied men and women in the neighbouring Indian territory and selling them. They opened a slave market in Goa.¹

Yusuf Adil Khan was succeeded by his son Ismail Adil Khan. Ismail Adil Khan was minor and for all purposes, Kamal Khan, governed the state. Kamal Khan was an ambitious person and no wonder, therefore, he waited for an opportunity to oust the minor Adilshahi king and to usurp the throne. It is said that in this endeavour he enlisted the support of Albuquerque and allowed him to retain Goa.

Unfortunately, during the time of Ismail Adil Shah, Goa did not attract any attention, the result was,

¹ Portuguese Rule in Goa by Rao p. 31.

that, on the one hand, the Portuguese could take a more active part in the politics of the South, on the other, this gave them a free hand to establish their maritime power in south India. They captured Malacca in 1511 and Ormuz in 1515. Thus controlling the entrance to the Persian gulf, they also set up ports for East Africa, Diu in Gujarat and Colombo in Ceylon. Persistent effort was also made by the Portuguese to capture Aden which unfortunately failed.

Thus in the 16th century, the Portuguese's achievements not only involved commercial supremacy of the South Asia, but also partial political ascendancy in the South. They clearly played their part with the Raja of Vijayanagar and entered into a treaty of peace and friendship. Abulquerque clearly saw a vision of establishing Portuguese power in the South. His anti-muslim attitude helped him in this endeavour.

The Portuguese leadership was also inspired by the religious zeal of establishing christianity in South India. As soon as Albuquerque got himself well settled in Goa, the Christian Missionaries from Lisbon started pouring in. A Bishop of Goa was appointed in 1520 and soon the city was adorned with churches and monasteries. These missionaries were so intolerant of other sects that they soon got into a notoriety for fanaticism and intolerance, while the "Deccan Muslims were tolerant and faith was observed as between the communities."¹

In Goa, developed the race of Goans-Portuguese in name, mainly Indian in blood and catholic in religion and often merchants by profession. A *Lingua Franca* was also developed called Goanese,

Ismail Adil Shah was more busy in his warfare with the neighbouring chiefs, he hardly had any time to devote any attention to the Goan affairs. It was, however, Ibrahim Adil Shah, Ismail's successor, who made concerted efforts to regain Goa without any result.

Albuquerque was succeeded by Menezes, who encouraged by his Diu campaign, attempted to seize the mainland of Goa. This may have also been done because of the defeat of Ibrahim by the Rayas at Rai-chur. It is said by the Portuguese chroniclers that the mainland was seized with the aid of only '250 horses and 800 Canarese foot soldiers.'

Asad Khan, who was a clever administrator kept silent for a while till he found Menezes busy in Ormuz, when, all of a sudden, he attacked and regained the lost territory. Pestana offered resistance to the Adilshahi forces but with no consequence.

The manner in which Menezes carried on the administration of Goa was far from satisfactory. Discipline was loose and administration of justice was corrupt. Menezes himself was extremely corrupt and earned lot of wealth. His name had become 'the scandal of Portugal'. The king of Lisbon, therefore, sent Vasco de Gama and removed Menezes. It took a long time for Vasco de Gama to restore law and order and regain the confidence of the people. He removed all corrupt officers and inflicted heavy punishments on them. In 1526, a regular land revenue settlement in Goa was undertaken. Goa had 31 villages-each village headed by a Gaoncar (village headman). Rent was fixed for each village and the Gaoncar was to collect it. The Gaoncar delivered the land revenue to the Thanadar, who received taxes and tributes. The Thanadar was

usually a Portuguese. In the event of any village becoming defaulter to the State, the land and personal properties of the Gaoncar were made liable for forfeiture for the full amount fixed for the village.

Nuno da Chuna arrived at Goa in October, 1529. He attacked Daman and Diu. Both the attacks were unsuccessful. He renewed his attack on Daman again in 1534 and destroyed it. The king of Gujarat, Bahadur Shah, with a view to secure his friendship against the Moghul entered into a treaty of peace. He handed over Bassin to the Portuguese, and agreed to transfer a part of the Dia trade to Bassin. The Portuguese were also allowed to erect a fort at Dia which was speedily constructed. But the king of Gujarat reconsidered his earlier decision; he knew that the Portuguese were undependable and with a view to protect Diu, he commenced the construction of a wall between the Portuguese fort and the city. The Portuguese did not agree to this construction and ultimately, the king of Gujarat had to give in.

Nuno under the pretence of sickness invited the king of Gujarat to his vessel. Akbar nama mentions that after this meeting when the Sultan was to go, he was stopped and attacked. A battle ensued with the Portuguese. The Sultan who was ill-equipped for this onslaught threw himself into the water and was drowned. After this incident Nuno captured Diu and established himself permanently.

While Ibrahim was busy in a dual with the king of Golkonda, Nuno de Chuna seized the mainland of Goa. He erected a fort at Rachole in 1536. Asad Khan, who was from the very beginning apprehensive of the growing power of the Portuguese, thought that

this action of the Portuguese should not go unchallenged. He, therefore, deputed his trusted lieutenant Sulaiman Ali to demolish the fort and regain the mainland. Pereira, who was at that time incharge of Goa, also advanced with his army and inflicted a defeat on the Bijapur forces. It is said that 1000 men of the Bijapur army were killed and a large supply of provisions, arms and forces was captured. The Adilshahi forces renewed their attack twice and were defeated. A final attack, however, was launched by Asad Khan himself with a large army. He surrounded the Portuguese fort and intercepted the supplies. This time the Portuguese, finding the struggle hopeless, retreated; the Portuguese fort of Rachole was raised to the ground, and the mainland was re-annexed to the Bijapur kingdom.

The rebel brother of Ibrahim, Abdullah, was given shelter by the Portuguese in Goa. De Castro, was the Governor of Goa, Ibrahim desired of De Castro that Abdulla should be handed over to him. He agreed to do so if only he was given some handsome bribe. Ibrahim complied, but having pocketed as much as he could of the bribe, De Castro only took Abdulla as far as Cannanore and then brought him back to Goa. This infuriated Ibrahim, who sent some troops in 1547 to invade the Portuguese provinces of Salsette and Bardes. The attack was ineffective and Danvers writes that Ibrahim had to give a vast treasure which Asad Khan had collected to Martim Affanso. Martim Affanso retained half of these treasures for his own use and remitted the other half to the king of Portugal.¹

Asad Khan's death emboldened the Portuguese and Burhan Nizam Shah to conceive of plans to liquidate the Bijapur kingdom. The Portuguese took the

i. Portuguese in India - Danvers, Vol. I pp.465-466. (The above account, however, is not supported by any of the Indian historians.)

initiative and concluded treaties of peace and aid with Vijayanagar on the 19th September, 1547 and with Ahmednagar on 6th October, of the same year. The treaty with Vijayanagar secured the Portuguese a monopoly of horse trade, the terms were as follows:—

(a) Each party to be friends of friends, and enemy of the enemies, of the other, and when called on, to help the other, with all their forces against all kings and lords in India, the Nizam Shah always excepted.

(b) The Governor of Goa will allow all Arab and Persian horses landed at Goa, to be purchased by the King of Vijayanagar on due notice and proper payment, none being permitted to be sent to Bijapur.

(c) The King of Vijayanagar will compel all merchants in his kingdom trading with the coast to send their goods through ports where the Portuguese have factors, permitting none to proceed to Bijapur ports.

(d) The King of Vijayanagar will forbid the importation of saltpetre and iron into his kingdom from any Bijapur port and will compel its purchase from Portuguese factors.

(e) The King of Vijayanagar will allow no Moorish ship or fleet to stop in his ports and if any should come, he will capture them and send them to Goa. Both parties agree to wage war on the Adil Shah and all territory taken from the latter shall belong to Vijayanagar except lands on the west of the ghats from Banda on the north to Cintacora on the south which lands shall belong to the king of Portugal.¹

De Castro, governor of Goa, concluded a separate treaty of defensive alliance with Burhan Nizam Shah also. Thus, the tripartite league against Bijapur was formed and this was surely in supersession of the treaty which the Portuguese had with Ibrahim, signed on the 26th February 1546 which said that;—

(a) Adil Khan will not wage a war against them.

(b) Abdullah and his family (Meale Khan in the Portuguese records) should be confined to solitude.

(c) Lead and sulphur would be supplied in agreed quantities by the Portuguese.

(d) No duty will be levied on the agreed goods, horses and merchandise upto a value of 2,000 Parados.ⁱ

In 1555, the Portuguese Viceroy again made an effort to oust Ibrahim Adil Shah and to place Abdulla on the throne of Bijapur. He was declared the King of Bijapur and was established at Ponda. Ibrahim did not relish this and attacked Abdulla and the Portuguese at Ponda and captured his brother. During the whole winter of 1556, the Portuguese were faced with the Bijapur armies, but no decisive results followed. Ibrahim Adil Shah was suddenly taken ill and had to retreat.

This, in brief, is the story of the Portuguese during the time of the Adilshahis. From their humble beginnings, as ordinary traders, they slowly worked up to capture the overseas trade of the South India and entrenched themselves on the West coast of India.

i. Portuguese in India - Vol. I Danvers - p. 475 - 476.

Wherever they settled down, they built up their political power and ruled their dominions with authority. They craftily played one local chief against the other and consolidated their political and maritime power. From Calicut to Bombay they wielded authority that remained unchallenged for a long time to come.

Apart from the commercial and political activity, the Portuguese organised Goa into an ecclesiastical power. Missionary activity was intensified and proselytization of the population was undertaken on a mass scale. "The arrival of St. Francisco Xavier in India in 1542 was an event of the utmost far reaching importance which laid the foundation of that ecclesiastical supremacy in Portuguese India which sapped the financial resources and undermined the civil administration of its Governors.....Already in 1540 by the orders of the King of Portugal all the Hindu temples in the island of Goa had been destroyed.¹

After the fall of the Vijayanagar Empire and in view of the imminent liquidation of the other Muslim states of the Deccan, the Portuguese found themselves secure in their dominions in south India. The days of struggle were over and in Goa an idle wealthy society of the Portuguese grew up only to dissipate and degenerate, gradually. Gambling saloons were established where men amused themselves in large numbers for days on while their women, at home, pursued the traveller and amused themselves freely. Taverniet who visited Goa in 1648 observed "ladies going in palanquins to seek charitable relief, attended by servants who conveyed their messages to the persons whose assistance they implored."

i. The Cambridge History of India.

In Goa, while the indigenous talent was murdered through a continuous subjection, the rulers, whether big or small, soaked themselves in wine, women and wanton negligence of their legitimate duties. Vices, uncontained, grew into an upsurge drowning the small boat of discretion which could not see the horizon of an All India conquest even from a long distance. The failure of the Adilshahis has been their inability, even in their sun-shine of glory, to free Goa from concentrated poison of a vile, cruel and a crafty people who had so completely dissipated themselves that after a long rule of 451 years, they withdrew as an army—"pot-bellied over weights or anaemic pasty-skinned, spindly-legged, whose faces blanched at the very thought of having to march 17 miles from the Poh camp to their new camp in Ponda.....They carried Dunlop pillows to the trenches where at dusk their wives and girls visited them. These forward positions were littered with empty beer and wine bottles. A Portuguese tank captured was found to be lined inside with beer bottles."

Chapter VI

The Adil Shahis Their Grand Architecture

Little is known about the ancient Bijapur. From an inscription dated Saka 996 (1074-75 AD) of the West Chalukian King, Someshwara II, it appears that Bijapur was the capital of the Provincial Governor/Dandanaika, Nakimayya. It was included in the district known as Taddevadi and was called Vijayapura.

From an inscription of a subsequent date on one of the pillars in the gateway at the citadel of Bijapur, it is found that Bijapur had passed into the hands of the Yadavas of Devagiri, who retained this till the latter half of the 12th and the beginning of the 13th century. But, Malik Kafur, during his invasion of the South, appears to have liquidated the Yadava sovereignty over Bijapur and retained it in his possession. From an inscription near the entrance to the citadel (1320 AD), it seems that his son Malik Karimuddin resided at Bijapur as Governor.

During the time of the Bahminis, Bijapur attained great importance because of Goa. Goa was the chief port of the Bahmanids and Bijapur was a well carved out province with a Governor.

It is difficult to say or surmise how Bijapur looked like during its hoary days. To all history, Bijapur is known through its preceptors, the Adilshahis, who made it the seat of their government, endowed and enriched it. To life they gave splendour, to beauty its

romance, and its majestic ruins conceal the telling tale of a glorious, forgotten age, of a polite and powerful people.

During the time of the Bahmani kings, Deccan developed the Muslim School of Architecture. All the Bahmani monuments in Gulbarga and Bidar are symbolic of this, combining the simple and straight-lined designs with domes and minarets of the Muslim style. But the mixed school of architecture attained eminence and a certain measure of perfection during the Adilshahi period.

The Adil Shahi kings were of Persian descent and invoked the Persian rhapsody in creating their architectural symphony. At the same time they demonstrated their keen taste and appreciation of the Dravidian style. Combining the two they erected monuments in Bijapur which in spite of a long passage of time and persistent ruination, speak very highly of the taste of their builders. These monuments are a homage to the cultural synthesis initiated during the period, besides as stated by Meadows Taylor "those noble monuments may serve to lead our countrymen to appreciate the intellect, the taste and the high power of art and execution which they evince to consider their authors not as barbarians, but in the position to which their work justly entitle them."

There are two ways of studying the Bijapur architecture. One, the orthodox way of detailing the life story of each king with special reference to their building activities. The other, a more scientific way of studying the various monuments that have been preserved so that each monument speaks for itself and draws a parallel with similar architecture in other parts of the country. The

second approach is preferred here. Bijapur even in its ruins appears to be a well laid out city. Excluding the citadel, Bijapur, within the walls, was divided into 33 wards or Peths. The five important wards were Bara Khudan Bazar in North West, Mohammed Khan Bazar in the West, Ane-Kendi Bazaar in the East centre, Jama Mosque Peth in the East and Shah Peth in the North East. The Shah Peth is also called Gavandis Ward. The Gavandis were a popular sect in Bijapur, who were mostly masons. That a ward should have been identified with the masons speaks of the great interest the Adilshahis took in the building activity of the State. Rich brown Basalt rock of Bijapur was extensively used in the constructions.

The city of Bijapur was surrounded by fortified walls, portions of which are still intact. Like Augustus, Ali Adil Shah I found his capital in mud and left it of stone. He got the entire wall built in stone, 6½ miles arch 96 bastions and 6 principal gates. The Mecca gate is on the west, the Shapur gate on the north-west, the Bahmini gate on the north, the Allahpur gate on the east and Mongoli gate in the south. The principal gate is Padshahpur gate. All the gates were well protected by flanking bastions and covered approaches. Each gate had an inscription indicating the time it was built with the name of the builder.

The most interesting spot is Qit-i-Arak, the fort, almost circular in design; where the palaces and private apartments of the king and his family members, public buildings, civil and criminal courts, government offices, interspersed with neglected gardens and ruined fountains and cisterns can be found. Many of the buildings within the fort have yet to be identified. With some pretence at accuracy, a few of the well-known

palaces have been identified as Sat Manzil, The Gagan Mahal, Anand Mahal, Adalat Mahal, Sona Mahal, Sajada Mahal, Dhobi Mahal, Sikka Mahal, Farakh Mahal and Pani Mahal.

The walls of the fort were built by Yusuf Adil Shah who was anxious to fortify himself against the invasions of the neighbouring king. Walls were made in solid stone masonry and perhaps as Ferishta says, built in place of the original mud walls. Yusuf Adil Shah could not complete this work but his successors did as is evident from the several inscriptions on the walls, the earliest being in A.D. 1514 during Ismail's reign and the latest in A.D. 1544 during that of Ibrahim-I Basatin-us-Salatin goes further to say that Ibrahim-I rebuilt the citadel and made it very strong. The only portions remaining at present are those along with the southern and south-eastern sides and a small bit of it on the west near the Sat Manzil. Walls are surrounded by a moat and bastions project into the walls. On the bastions are elevated gun platforms.

In the citadel are many palaces. Some of them are remarkable. Ibrahim II (1580-1626) built the famous seven storied palace-Sat Manzil-in the west of the citadel. It is considered as one of the most beautiful specimens of the mixed school of Deccani architecture. Mohammed Adil, his successor, improved the palace by ornamentation and fitted it sumptuously to please the fancy of his beloved mistress, Rumbha. No other Bijapur palace has so many rooms, so beautifully designed and finished with stucco work. Its tall elegant form, richly ornamented windows, gives it a rare appearance of beauty.

Gagan Mahal was the old residence of the Bijapur kings. With the construction of seven storied

palace, Gagan Mahal became the Audience Hall. Gagan Mahal was constructed by Ali Adil in 1561. The chief point of interest in this palace is the majestic hall with a 61' - 10" wide arch serving as a durbar platform, windows and balconies are elaborately carved overhanging the durbar on all sides so that ladies through the suspended screen could witness the proceedings.

Anand Mahal was built by Ibrahim II in 1589. It is again considered a very handsome piece of work. The roof is beautifully ornamented in stucco work while the central hall is inlaid in coloured stones, ornamented inscriptions and paintings. Anand Mahal enjoys a beautiful situation and is surrounded by fountains and green well-laid out gardens.

700 yards away from Anand Mahal are the ruins of Adalat Mahal. Very little remains of this monument and perhaps this used to be the palace where kings gave audience to the public and heard petitioners.

Sultan Mohammed built Asar Mahal in 1646 which also performed the functions of Dad Mahal. The ground plan of Asar Mahal is a rectangle 150 feet long by 100 feet broad. It has two stories and has a huge verandah, 150 feet long by 30 feet wide running the whole length of the building. The wooden roofs are painted. The walls and ceiling of the balcony were richly gilt. It is said that this palace housed a big library of Persian and Arabic manuscripts in the ground floor which in 1583 were sent from Bijapur to the Court of Directors of the East India Company. Asar Mahal, in fact, appears to be the royal library. Some of the manuscripts can still be found in the India Office, London.

Asar Mahal is also called Athur Mahal. Cousen prefers to call it Athur Mahal. He also thinks that this

was a place for the safe custody of the relic of the prophet. He relates a story pertaining to a holy man called 'Shah Sibkhatulla' who gave the ruling king two hairs supposed to be of the prophet Mohammed which Ibrahim deposited with great care in a jewel box. The place was held in great sanctity and every year Urs was celebrated. No woman can cross the threshold of this building, no armed person can enter it and no music is permitted.

The front of this Mahal is a hall supported by two wooden columns. It is called Gilded Hall since the ceilings are covered with work of gold. The wooden work is beautiful. Two rooms in this Mahal have got frescoe paintings on the walls. In one room, the painting is of a Muslim character with vases and flowers in niches while in the other the paintings are of a completely different type. John Griffith the later Superintendent of Sri J. J. School of Arts, Bombay, thought that the paintings in the other room were the work of an Italian artist since they are of human beings. It is said that Aurangzeb got annoyed with these and ordered that they be destroyed. This Mahal had some of the best Persian carpets.

Mehtar Mahal is not a palace but an ornamental gateway leading to the mosque and garden. The ornaments and carvings on the walls are at their best. On the ground floor is an entrance hall. The roof of the hall is in carved stones supported by stone brackets. The stone roof of the upper floor is one of the most remarkable features of this building. The roof is flat and is supported by massive cross beams of stone, two feet square. The roof is a puzzle to engineers and is beautifully carved. According to Fergusson, in elegance of

finish and beauty of design, the ornament of the Mehtar Mahal is equal, if not superior, to any thing in Cairo.

A beautiful specimen of Bijapur is the Sangeet Mahal built at Nauraspur, four miles to the west of Bijapur. In front is a Saracenic arch followed by side arches leading into the corridor. Although this monument is in ruins, its appearance is pleasing. In front is a large fountain and a reservoir and a small stream encircling the palace on two sides. With hills in the background, Sangeet Mahal is extremely picturesque.

The first of importance erected was Jama Masjid or Jumah (Friday) mosque during the period of Ali Adil Shah I. Cousens says:

“In this mosque we have the style which is chiefly used in Bijapur, coming upon us in its full development, in its purest and best form.... It is a fact that no subsequent building is equal to this one for its perfect proportions.”,

This building was built soon after Ali Adil Shah's return after securing a victory against the forces of Rama Raja of Vijayanagar. The designer of this mosque has not been identified but it is certain that he must be a man of great ability. Jama Masjid is a rare monument, the only monument which can be compared with this is the Jama Masjid of Ahmedabad built 100 years earlier. But it lacks the dignity and sublimity of Jama Masjid of Bijapur. It has not got those great solid square piers and magnificent arches. It again abounds in gorgeously decorated central Mihrab. The interior of the mosque is perceptibly plain and simple.

The dome of this mosque is best known for its proportions. It is not Saracenic in origin. Of this dome, Ferguson wrote:

“If he had had more courage to pierce the niches at the base of this dome and make them into windows, he probably would have had the credit of designing the most graceful building of its class in existence.”*

The architectural ornament which incidentally is not much in this mosque is peculiarly Indian in style. Lace-like pattern in plasters glass and tracery, the central arch of the facade, the embroidered band of stucco around their archrings, geometric lattice in the row of small windows go to prove this.

Ain-ul-Mulk's mosque and tombs are again of particular interest to us. The tomb is a massive and square building with a well proportioned dome, with a mosque attached. It is a very unique building. Plaster tracery, particularly on the mosque, is of a very high order, indicating its indigenous talent. “Stucco ornaments on the walls within, takes the form of great flat lozenge-shaped pendants or censers hanging by chains upon the face of each wall”.

Malik Jehan Begum's mosque constructed during the reign of Ibrahim II, deserves special mention. A more elaborate style of work was introduced. Free use of sculptured stone work of the Hindu style involving complicated, yet pleasing combinations was made. It is a monument of great architectural value. The amount of delicate work, minute tracery, the richness of

* History of Indian and Eastern Architecture - Vol. II, p. 271.

the sky line, elaboration of the brackets, "combine to form such a profusion of liveliness as is not surpassed elsewhere in Bijapur."*

Kali Masjid at Lakhshmeswar is a typical example of the synthesis of the Muslim and Hindu architecture. With minarets and beautiful hanging stone chains, "the little building must have looked like a creation in silver filigree work rather than a substantial fabric in stone."

There are other mosques built during the Adil Shahi period. They are Asen Bega's Mosque, Ibrahim's old Jama Masjid, Ikhlas Khan's Mosque, Rangin Masjid, Ibrahim Pur Mosque, Haidrya Masjid, Malik-e-Jehan's Mosque, the Bukhari Masjid, Malik Sundal's Mosque, Anda Masjid and so on. There is nothing remarkable about these small mosques. They are simple architectures. The Anda Masjid, however, is a little unusual building. It is two storied, the upper story being the mosque and the ground floor a rest house. The similarity with Buddhist Viharas in the arrangement of this mosque is quite striking.

TOMBS :

Ain-ul-Mulk's tomb is a fine piece of architecture with beautiful lace-like tracery in plaster. The tomb of Ali Adil Shah I (A.D.1557-1580) is a low square structure with five arches. There is nothing to remark about this tomb except that it is very plain.

Ibrahim Rauza, the Mausoleum of King Ibrahim II and certain members of his family, is easily the *magnum opus* of the Adil Shahi Kings. Fergusson writes:

“A group as rich and as picturesque as any in India and far excelling anything of the sort on this side of the Hallespont, which is more remarkable for the profusion and richness of its ornamental details than for either its dimensions or the elegance and propriety of its general form... The two must, however, be taken together as parts of one composition; and that their gateways, their terraces and their external colonnades they make up a group of gorgeous, but it must be confessed somewhat barbaric, splendour, that it would be difficult to match in any part of the world.*

The tombs of Ibrahim Rauza are in a row. The conception, design and profusion of the richest decorative details mark the Rauza as the culminating point of the mixed style that developed with Malik-e-Jehan and Lakshmeshwar's Mosques. The Colonnade was formed by arches, on exquisitely carved stone pillars after the Hindu fashion. At the same time, it was simple and resemble the lively setting of the Taj Mahal. Cousens was not far too wrong when he styled the Rauza as the Taj Mahal of the Deccan.

The panels indicate free and exquisite use of Arabic and Persian characters. The square pillars which support the gallery in the mausoleum are in Hindu style. The tomb has deep rich cornices and graceful minarets. “The bewildering mass of carving done with fantastic profusion of inscriptions, flowers and foliations on the whole with the ornamental pillars and arches and the overhanging decorative roof make the whole composition an enrapturing feast to the eye of an art lover.”

* History of Indian and Eastern Architecture—Volume II, page 273.

In one of the inscriptions around the south door it is written that over 1½ lakh hoons were spent on its construction.

Major Moor interpreted this inscription in a different way. He took the amount as 1,59,000 hoons, nine times told and therefore put the cost at Lstg. 7,00,000. The same inscription also stated that 6,533 workmen were employed for the completion of this building which lasted for 36 years, 11 months and 11 days.¹ An inscription on the north door reads as follows:

“Heaven stood astonished at this building when its head rose as if it were from the earth to another heaven. The garden of paradise has borrowed its beauty from this garden and every column in this building is graceful as a Cyprus tree in the garden. An angel from heaven told the date of building in the words thus:

‘This is a memorial to Taj Sultana to make everyone happy.’

The date of the completion of this Rouza works out as 1626 A.D., a lonely dream of art and architecture. No wonder the architect, Malik Sandal, was one of the few great architects of the world. In the words of Fergusson on the Ibrahim Rouza, we have something much more impressive than the pride of the Northern Capital.”

Ali Adil Shah II's tomb is an unfinished structure. The plan was conceived on a magnificent scale and if completed, would perhaps have been grander than Ibrahim Rauza. The area is three times that of

i. Major Moor, page 133.

the Rauza. The arches of this tomb, which still exist, do indicate the excellence of the material used. The building is one of the most striking ruins of Bijapur though destroyed by wild shrubs and creepers.

Another tomb supposed to be of Sikandarshah is again a beautiful piece of architecture. The green stones used are highly polished and beautifully carved. The platform is a splendid work of art.

About 500 yards north of the green stone tomb are the tombs of Habas Khan and Abdul Razakh Kadir. The gardens and lofty trees around these monuments give the place an air of cheerfulness although there is nothing remarkable in the architecture, as such.

The most famous tomb of Bijapur is known as Gole Gumbus. It is a remarkable building. Its colossal proportions and height have made it a landmark. The area of the tomb is 18,225 feet outside and 175 feet inside. It is eight times more than the area of Pantheon of Rome. It is said that its construction took ten years and was built by Sultan Mohammed (1626-1656) as a rest place for himself and for his family. It is a square surmounted by a huge dome, resting on a circular platform about 90 feet high and 124 feet in diameter. The dome was built in concentric circles decreasing in diameter. Fergusson thinks that the form of pendants used in this dome is perhaps the happiest in dome-building which has yet come to light. The great size of the pendants in this tomb is remarkably striking. About this building, Elphinstone wrote that it was larger than Humayun's tomb, simpler, inspiring and remarkable. The whispering gallery is 105 feet about the pavement and 123 feet in diameter. The voice is heard with re-

markable clarity. A story related about this gallery says that Mohammed Adil, the builder, was pacing round in this gallery with his beloved Rambha. He made Rambha sit 130 feet away from him and started whispering secrets of love to her across the walls. He asked her: "My dear, do you love me more than any thing else on the earth?" "Yes, my love," came the reply.

"Do you love me more than yourself?" whispered the king.

"Yes", again came the reply from Rambha. Then the king asked: "If I ask you to jump from the gallery down below, would you do it?". "Do you doubt it?", came the reply and in a split of a second Rambha plunged in down the gallery. The forlorn lover, with an anguished heart and fervent prayers at his lips ran down, lifted the dying Rambha from debris. He implored Rambha to live and love. But Rambha had already chosen the arduous journey of lovers, to do and die. Her eye-beams opened in the lap of her lover paying the last homage of a dying sigh. Her failing voice implored proximity and everlasting association even after death. Therefore, under this gorgeous silent vault, are entombed two lovers, who out of frolic and fun, created the most bitter tragedy of their age.

There are other tombs of less importance and with little architectural interest. They are Haji Husain's tomb, Amin Kadir's tomb, Yakut Jabuli's tomb, Haider Ali's tomb. Moti Gumbus, Malik Rehman's tomb, Shah Niwaz's tomb, and Pir Amin's tomb. About Moti Gumbus it is said that the inside of the tomb was whitened with wash largely composed of pearl ground powder*.

* Bombay Gazetteer Bijapur' page 616.

When the glory of Adilshahi kings was at its highest, foreigners flocked from all the corners of the world. Also, from within the country people migrated to Bijapur as it was considered to be a heaven, hospitable, with all the public amenities. Maritime trade of Goa enhanced the importance of Bijapur and in a very short time the population of Bijapur increased. To relieve the congestion in Bijapur, Yusuf Adil Shah built the suburb of Alah Pur, a mile and a half from Bijapur. Other suburbs built were Shah Pur, Fakhirabad, Zohra Pur and Ibrahim Pur. Afzul Khan of Shivaji's fame built Afzul Pur. Shah Pur was built in 1557 by Ali Adil Shah I. It covered a larger area than Bijapur and was the centre of business. The population at one time, is stated to be nearly a million. *Mohammed Shah destroyed Shah Pur in 1635 to prevent the advance of the Moghuls and therefore little can be said about the architectural beauty of this township.

To the west of Shah Pur is the suburb of Nauras Pur, built by Ibrahim. In Nauras Pur, Ibrahim built magnificent palaces and buildings.

The Pavilions at Kumatgi.

Adilshahi kings and nobles were great warriors. They were mostly busy with their wars. Yet, they knew how to make the best of life in their moments of rest. Ten miles east of Bijapur they developed the small village of Kumatgi. This was a picnic resort for them. They constructed a large lake and on the banks of this lake imposing buildings were erected. The buildings are in ruins but some of the pavilions with tanks and cisterns around them still exist. Upon the walls of these pavilions one could see interesting frescoes depicting a game of Polo, a hunting seal, representations

* Bombay Gazetteer - Bijapur p. 578.

of persons of European origin, a musician playing upon a guitar while a queen and her mate sat listening, and a wrestling match. These frescoes, though damaged, are still in parts the best that could be available those days in India.

In these ruins one could see the lay-out of this small town, with wide roads and a fine row of stables. From the broad road one goes through the gateway along the bank of the lake to different pavilions. All the buildings had fountains and cisterns and were endowed with an elaborate arrangement of water supply. In front of the painted pavilion is a double storied building which has an over-head tank. From the over-head tank pipes were laid to different points. Perhaps the water was stored in the over-head tank through manual or bullock labour. No wonder with such an arrangement the water supply was adequate and all fountains and cisterns must be brimming with cool and refreshing water. From the over-head tank water was also allowed to descend through a great perforated Rose sprinkler in the centre of the ceiling forming a splendid shower bath, with a cistern below it.

In his "Survey of Indian History", K. M. Panikar has paid the following tribute to the Adil Shahis:

"The Deccan Sultanates have a special claim for remembrance for their architectural achievements. The Osman rulers of Bijapur were great builders. The Gol Gumbuz whose dome is larger than that of the Pantheon at Rome; Ibrahim Rauza the tomb of Taj Sultana, and the great palace of Relic, gave to the city of the Adil Shah a glory which was greater than that of Agra or Delhi. The dome of Gol Gumbaz was honey coloured. Ibrahim Rauza in its dream-like beauty is

the equal of the Taj and the delicacy and beauty of its work is in no way inferior to those of the great Moghul buildings. Of the tomb of Taj Sultana, the architect himself had it inscribed in blasphemous pride that heaven itself stood astounded at this building..... beautiful gardens, magnificent public baths, and lovely palaces also added to the beauty of the City.”

Thus, in these majestic ruins of Bijapur the wondering eyes catch, oftentimes, reflections of a highest order in architecture, painting and workmanship. Sometimes, the loftiness of their execution is breathtaking. Sometimes, the beauty inspires confidence and kindles love. But often, one is bewildered by the realisation that how during the middle ages, the personal affluence of a king or his companions was judiciously channelled for creating such rare specimens of art and architecture.

It is one of the most cruel ironies of history that Bijapur, once a seat of such an artistic excellence and the mother of the best of the mixed Indian culture,... which had set great standards in human behaviour and had shown mankind new summits of cultural attainments, was destined to relapse into oblivion and for a length of time, get shrouded into a sustained process of destruction and decay. The successors of the Adil Shahis pillaged it remorselessly and successively ruined it beyond recognition. Yet, in the majestic recesses of its ruined art, one still breathes the fresh air of a fertile imagination and an unconquerable lofty spirit. The shadows of a colossus — culture, stalks, presides and still rules Bijapur.

CHAPTER VII

THE ADIL SHAHI - Water Works

It has been commonly acknowledged that the early story of mankind owed its development to mainly geographical factors. Temperate climate, fertility of soil and plain topography and what is more, availability of water, were the factors that contributed towards the development of habitations and townships.

The plains of Northern India situated at the foot of Himalayas are fed by big and small rivers all the year round. The Aryans settled down in these plains and established villages, townships and later on cities. Water supply was, by and large, no problem for Northern India in the initial stages of development. But as soon as conditions of congestion arose, the population moved along the rivers and in some cases into the interior. Those of such villages and towns which came to be established in the interior, far away from the mouths of rivers, sometimes fed by small streams and river tributaries, had the facility of touching water at a lower level for the construction of wells and small tanks.

In the South, however, the conditions were different. Rivers flowing from Vindhya and other mountains were not perennial as in the North. Yet, it is only along these routes the habitations developed in the earlier part of the Southern history. But as the population grew and moved on all the four directions, the

rocky terrain, hills and dales of the Deccan, had to face the problem of water supply. Rivers, not being perennial, there was necessity for the storage of water. In places where there were no streams and rivers, people had no option but to store the rainwater. This was responsible for the construction of innumerable major and minor tanks in the Deccan and the South. Of necessity, again, every village dug sufficient number of wells to ensure a steady water supply both for personal and agricultural purposes.

In ancient India the village Panchayats took the obligation of maintaining sources of water supply. Kautilya's Artha Shastra mentions that it was obligatory on every family to maintain all public works including tanks and wells. According to him, "whoever stays away from any kind of co-operative undertaking shall send his servants and bullocks to carry on the work and shall have a share in the expenditure but none in the profits". The following extracts from a Jataka further confirms the above: "in a village there were just 30 families and one day the men were standing in the middle of the village transacting the affairs of the village. They, doing good works, always in Bodhi Satta's company used to get up early and sally forth, with razors and axes and clubs in their hands. With their clubs they used to roll out of the way all stones that lay on the four high-ways and other roads of the village; the tree that would strike against axle of chariots, they cut down; rough places they made smooth; cause-ways they built, dug water tanks, and built the hall".¹

In the South, in particular, there is overwhelming evidence to show that every village attached the

1. Jataka Vol. I - p. 199

greatest importance to irrigation works. Construction of new irrigation tanks and maintenance of the old was compulsory. Inscriptions to this effect are numerous. In the inscriptions of Madras Presidency of the 8th and 9th centuries A. D. mention has been made of the maintenance of two such tanks of the Chinglepet District.¹ Some inscriptions have also been found to indicate that people who were rich endowed their property for the maintenance of tanks and reservoirs.² In an inscription of North Arcot District it is mentioned that a gift of land the income from which was to be spent in removing silt of a tank. Some inscriptions also mention gifts of sluices for tanks and of boats for the removal of silt.

In the Deccan also, construction of tanks, and wells was a custom widely practised.³ It was a religious belief that one who did such an act was assumed to have performed the Ashvamedha sacrifice. During the time of Kakatiyas of Warangal and Yadavas of Devgiri, many such works were undertaken and completed.⁴ Every village had a tank committee whose responsibility was the maintenance of these water sources either through compulsory labour or donations, public charities or endowments. In the Kanarese country the word 'Kodagi' means grant of rent free land for the purpose of service in connection with the restoration or construction of tanks or of their maintenance in good order. The word 'Kudi-Marammat' used in the Deccan, in all regions, means voluntary repairs of tanks, sluices, wells

1. Archaeological Survey Report for 1903 - 04 by Shri Venkayya.

2. Archaeological Survey Report by Shri Venkayya p. 204.

3. Hultzsch, S. I. INS Inscriptions Volume - III page 15.

4. Some of the Karnatak inscriptions mention that 'Mahajanas' used to construct tanks.

and canals. A village official called 'Niradi' was always appointed to look after and regulate the water supply to individual fields.

The earlier history of Karnataka shows important places like Badami, Bagalkot and Bijapur where huge tanks, both for irrigation and water supply were constructed. In Badami Fort one can still see a reservoir that got ample supplies of water through a conduit from a large cistern outside the town. The reservoir has steps. The Bombay Gazetteer mentions that the water supply of the Fort was, however, scanty. Badami town may not have suffered from scarcity of water as the dam constructed to the east of the town between the foot of the hills was their large reservoir. The town of Bagalkot, it is said, had ample supplies of water from a large well. Similar wells were found at Almel beside a large pond to the west of the village.

Bijapur also had similar water supply arrangements before the Adil Shahis established themselves. It is said that the main water supply of Bijapur was from large number of springs. But nowhere in the whole of the Deccan or in the South such elaborate arrangements were made as were undertaken by the Adil Shahi Kings. Before their advent, people had to go to the source to fetch water which was obviously not a satisfactory arrangement.

Ali Adil Shah-I (1557-1580) was the first Adil Shahi King who paid attention to the question of water supply to the town. He built large wells in Shahpur, now known as Chand Bavri (well) in 1579 and constructed channels to lead the water through the city. This well measures 144 ft. east-west and 156 ft. north-south.

The water of this well was mostly used for domestic purpose.

Above Torvi, a suitable site was chosen at a stream and a huge masonry dam was built across the valley. This gave a lake and a masonry channel built in the bed of the stream carried water to within half a mile of Torvi. Here a large reservoir was constructed which was connected to an underground water course and travelled about a mile to Afzalpur. Here again a large reservoir was built whose water was supplemented from another small masonry well constructed at the base of a hill 400 yards west of Torvi. The Afzalpur reservoir was also fed by another pond whose water was carried on arches over the intervening houses. Traces of this high level conduit still exist. The Afzalpur reservoir whose remains can still be seen is indeed a vast work of great engineering skill. The reservoir is 60 feet high with chambers in the embankments. From the reservoir, through an underground canal which was 8 feet by 6 feet, water was carried nearly three miles in the city of Bijapur. The underground channel was constructed with brick and the water flowed along a rocky-bed. To ensure steady flow of water, the channel had a number of vertical air shafts locally called Usvas. The shafts are at every 40th yard. Water still flows into the city by this channel.

Ibrahim Adil Shah II augmented the water supply by constructing his famous Taj-Bavdi in 1620 and named it after his beloved wife Taj Sultana. The entrance to the well, was through a majestic arch with 35 ft. span flanked by two towers. The eastern and the western wings of the towers are rest houses for travellers. It is a stepped well bounded on the south by a big deer park.

During the reign of Md. Adil Shah, in all directions presumably, new palaces and buildings came up and population increased; it was found that the existing water supply was not enough. To augment the existing water supply, Md. Adil Shah constructed Begum lake at much higher level than the city—an artificial lake to the south of the city with a dam of a mile in length across the valley. The lake covered an area of 500 acres and because of its elevation was able to supply water to almost all the places in Bijapur town. The water was carried through an earthen pipe built in masonry, 15" in diameter and fixed underground at a depth of 15 feet to 50 feet below the surface. This pipe ran a full length of 2½ miles towards Shahgunj where a distributary reservoir was constructed. All along its course 12 large square towers were built at a distance of about 800 feet to relieve the pressure of the water and prevent the pipes from bursting. Water was made available from these towers to various localities in the city from Gole Gumbuz to Shahpur. All the palaces in Arakilla received ample water supply from these towers. In view of this ample supply of water it was remarked "countless fountains embowered in trees played in every quarter and fragrant flowers fill the air with their perfume. Few places can have been more beautiful than this Arakhila with its stately palaces and grounds and the air full of coolness and the flow of water".¹

For the first time in the history of India such an elaborate arrangement for water supply was made. The Adil Shahi Kings combined despotism with public welfare so evidently established through these water works, so scientifically designed and meticulously executed. Malik Amber copied this in Aurangabad and has left his name to posterity. A few, however, knew that the Adil Shahi Kings were the precursors and authors of this remarkable scheme of water supply.

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CHAPTER VIII

THE ADIL SHAHI - Administration

The Adil Shahi Kingdom inherited the territory of the whole Bijapur Province of the Bahmani days. But prior to the Bahmani occupation Bijapur was the capital of the Yadavas of Deogiri,¹ during their earlier days as is evident from one of the inscriptions of Jailingi, a Yadav King of Deogiri (1191-1210 A. D.). This inscription was found in the remains of a Hindu temple of the Bijapur fort. The Yadava Kingdom comprised, those days, of Bijapur, Dharwar, Ahmednagar, Nasik, some forts in the Konkan Coast, Sholapur, Malwa, Southern Gujarat and Kalyani.²

During the reign of Simhana the Yadava Kingdom extended further to Khandesh and Berar and upto Jabalpur³ in the North. From the Hoysalas Simhana got the ceded districts, Bombay, the Karnatak and the northern parts of Mysore state.⁴ The extent of the Yadava Kingdom, therefore, not only covered

1. The Yadava House had really begun a decade earlier as a small feudatory ruling in the Dharwar district. Later they moved to Chandor forty miles from Nasik. From Chandor they shifted to Seunapur (Sinnar). During the reign of Dhadiyasa (970-85) the Rashtrakutas were overthrown by the Chalukyas with the help of the Yadavas who were rewarded by the assignment of Ahmednagar district. It was only in 1187 A. D. that Billama claimed imperial status and perpetuated the Yadava dynasty. Early History of the Deccan by Yazdani.

2. Early History of the Deccan by Yazdani p. 521 - 22.

3. Ibid p. 540 - 41.

4. The Early History of the Deccan by Yazdani p. 542.

the major portion of the Deccan, Maharashtra, Karnatak, Gujarat, and Madhya Pradesh but also a good portion of the Northern India upto Benares.¹ But the Yadava power came to an end in 1318 A. D. at the hands of Malik Kapur and the whole kingdom was broken into various provinces administered by different Muslim Officers appointed by Alauddin Khilji. Bijapur with Sholapur, Konkan Coast and a few districts of the Northern Mysore state was constituted into a province and placed under the governorship of Karimuddin, son of Malik Kapur.

In 1347 A. D. the Bahamanids inherited the Bijapur Province and retained it as such.² Its composition changed a bit under the re-organization effected by Gawan who assumed its Governorship. Gawan was succeeded by Yusuf Adil Khan who declared his independence and after the Yadava tradition made it into an independent State.

The Bahmanids and the Adil Shahis inherited the Yadava traditions. As far as possible they seem to have reconciled their thinking with what existed and what really suited the genius of the people. Meadows Taylor was struck with this apparent yet admirable effort of the Muslim potentates of the Deccan. And, no wonder therefore the administration and social pattern of the Deccan stood in a sharp contrast with that of the north, where incredible efforts were made to foist the unadulterated Muslim concepts, faith, religion, customs and rituals over the Hindu genius.

From what little evidence we have of the Yadava Kingdom through Hemadri's writings, Jnanes-

1. The Early History of the Deccan by Yazdani. p. 551

2. Briggs. Ferishta 11 - 295 - Bijapur Province Stretched from Gulbarga West to Dabhol in Ratnagiri and south to Raichur and Mudgal.

vari, plates and inscriptions, it does appear that it had the usual features of an enlightened monarchy. The law of succession governed it while the public opinion, as formulated in the Court and outside always conditioned it. Mahadeva's effort to secure the throne for his son against the rightful heir, Ramchandra, was neither supported nor sustained.

The King was supreme yet not infallible and therefore was guided by a Council of Ministers chosen from the intelligentsia of the time. A Minister had necessarily to be a good warrior with considerable experience of army and civil administration. Even when the Yadavas were a petty state in 1063 A. D. their Council of Ministers consisted of seven persons, Mahapradhana (Premier), Sanadvigrahi (Foreign Minister), Mahamatiya (Revenue Minister), Mata prachanda danda nayaka (Defence Minister), Pandita (Ecclesiastical Minister), Pradviveka (Judicial Minister) and the Patalakarni Chief Secretary.

It was not necessary for the Premier to remain at the headquarters. Bichana, Tikkamrasa, and Purushotamma lived in their own provincial headquarters when they were Mahapradhans.

The Premier as also the Ministers were given Jagirs "as an equivalent of monetary remuneration".

The Central Government maintained a Central Secretariat consisting of 'Ganakas' who were also inspecting the accounts of the provincial and district administration. Similarly the provincial and the district administration maintained a regular staff for the inspection of the village accounts.

The main sources of revenue of the Yadava Government were:—

- a) Land revenue (Udranga);
 - b) Pasture and forest cess;
 - c) Excise duty.)
 - d) Custom duty.)
- 5-10% on sales/imports.
- e) Miscellaneous charges (Uparikaras)

Villages were under the administration of the Panchayats who had both civil and criminal powers. They disposed off cases of civil nature and other offences at the village, Chavdi. Every Panchayat elected its own headman. Further, the Panchayats were also responsible for the village administration, sanitation, education, public health, maintenance of roads, wells and tanks and village service. The decision of the Panchayat was appealable.

The pattern of administration, as indicated above, was a very close image of the Chalukyan types. The Bahmanids first and the Adil Shahis later considered this very closely in the light of what was obtaining in the North. The Northern Indian administration as established by the Delhi Sultanate was a known verse to them. They also knew that it would not take long to allow the gushing stream from the Vindhyas to settle down on the plains of the Deccan. Yet, after weighing all the pros and cons, they decided to follow the Yadava traditions with slight modifications, here and there, to answer the requirement of a new age and a new Government. Actually, their task was extremely difficult as they set on reconciling the Muslim concepts with the

hoary Hindu traditions. Their approach had to be selective and they did accomplish this by marrying the good of the two together. In this process, evidently, the Muslim Kings of the Deccan eventually developed a synthesised administration, a composite culture, and a Deccani brother-hood while Akbar appreciated, respected and in many cases, copied this dynamic approach, the fanatic in Aurangzeb revolted. He showed abhorrence to and distaste of the Deccani efforts which diluted Islam. He, therefore, left no stone unturned to distort, destroy and crush it beyond recognition.

The King under the Adil Shahis, as in all monarchies, was the supreme head of administration. He was the fountain head of justice, the principal symbol of power and prowess, the defender of people, the unbeaten conqueror, and the only saviour and benefactor of his people. He had to be well versed both in the art of war and peace. He was the supreme builder, a patron of all arts and crafts. The kingship was governed by the Yadava law of succession and primogeniture.

As supreme heads of their Government, the Adil Shahis had four definite wings of administration. Their central administration consisted of a Council of Ministers, headed by a Prime Minister who was responsible to the King. The Prime Minister was in the overall charge of the Government in addition to holding the direct charge of the Finance Department. In administering the finances he was assisted by an exclusive Secretary called 'Nazir'. The Nazir, in his turn was assisted by a 'Nazim-i-Hisabat'¹ (The Auditor General) and the Nazim-i-Asraf² (The head of the Expenditure).

1. Called Vazier-i-Kul under the Bahmanids.

2. Called Musrif-i-Mumalik under the Delhi Sultanates.

The Prime Minister was also the head of the army like Asad Khan Lari although symbolically, the King was the Commander-in-chief. The Prime Minister was not paid through the exchequer. As in the Yadava days, he was given a supporting income in the form of a Jagir besides a share in booty. Asad Khan Lari sometimes lived in Bijapur and often times in his own Jagir near Belgaum. This makes one think that perhaps it was not compulsory for the Prime Minister to live at the headquarters of the Government. The Prime Minister was assisted by his Secretary, called Dabir.

The other Ministers were; one, incharge of justice; two incharge of religious affairs; three in charge of the Army; and the fourth in charge of the foreign affairs. The Minister judiciary was called 'Sadar-Jehan'. He was assisted in his work by the Quazis and Ulemas. Every province, district and Taluk had a Qazi who disposed off all criminal and civil cases in accordance with Quran. A court of justice was held every day outside the forts? The cases of Hindu subjects were disposed off by the local Panchayats. Whether Hindu or Muslim, one could go in appeal to the King. The Adil Shahi Kings made it a point to appear at the appointed hour in Diwan-i-am to look into the complaints of the common people and hear their appeals. The traditions as known to us indicate that, while the Adil Shahi kings reversed the decisions of the lower courts in the case of Muslims, they refrained from doing so in the case of the Hindus appealing against the decision of the local Panchayats. It is pertinently mentioned that Ibrahim Adial Shah refused to tamper with a decision of the local Panchayat in appeal.

The Minister in charge of religious affairs dealt with religious matters, religious endowments and

grant of stipends to scholars and men of piety. From what little is known, it does appear that this Minister was also in charge of education was mainly religious and was organised in temples and mosques. The Hindu education was entrusted to the local Panchayats or was a part of the temple administration while the Muslim education was organised through religious endowments. But in both the cases evidence is not lacking to show that both the temples and the mosques received fixed incomes through the lands and in some cases through villages which were assigned to them. In this matter, therefore, the Adil Shahis followed the foot steps of the Chalukyan Rashtrakuta and Yadava Kings of the Deccan.

The Minister in charge of the army was called 'Shahib Arz' of the Bahmani origin. His main duty was to maintain an army, review it, and arrange for its payment. This minister was assisted by two Commanders, one in charge of the right wing and the other of the left. Since the Prime Minister was directly responsible for the army, this Minister worked under him almost like a satellite.

The Ministry in charge of foreign affairs is not a very clear institution projected in the Adilshahi history. But it does appear that the Adilshahis had very cordial relations with the Moghuls and the Persian Kings. Envoys from Persia paid a periodical visit to the Adilshahi Court. Presents were exchanged and continued correspondence with Persia is almost a fact. The Moghul Kings of India also sent envoys to the Bijapur Court. A. R. No. 733 dated 14th January 1671 A.D. conveys the orders of Aurangzeb appointing Abdul Mabud as an envoy accredited to the Court of Bijapur¹. It is therefore assumed that there may have been a Mi-

1. Selected Documents of Aurangzeb's Reign p. 83.

nister, as in the Northern India, to look after the foreign affairs.

The relationship between the Adilshahi king and his Council of Ministers was intimate. Ferishta mentions that they met almost every day. The appearance of the Adil Shahi kings both in the Diwan-i-Am and in the Diwan-i-Khas was made every day and from the evidence on hand it transpires that during the day time they were in the thick of their work and only in the evenings, they were transplanted in the orchard of poetry, music and dance.

The Central Government during the middle ages was only the apparition of the ruling kings. No plant grew under the Banyan trees of the kings. The king, as it were, was the revolving moon round the earth. He gave brightness and guided all the deliberations. While it is true that the Adil Shahi kings followed the best traditions of monarchy, they failed to create a history, rich in men and matters. The overcasting of their own personality shrunk the Council of Ministers into a small froth on the waves of a surging sea.

Kotwal, though not a minister, was yet an important dignitary of the metropolis. He was the custodian of law and order and had the privilege to be the eyes and ears of the ruling king. His influence both on the king and the Council of Ministers was penetrating and more than once the Kotwal of the Adil Shahi period displayed a personality of his own.

The pattern of the provincial administration, as founded the Bahmanids continued during the Adilshahis. The whole kingdom continued to be divided among 'Tarafs' each under a Tarafdar. The dominions com-

prised of 281 Parganas and 12 provinces with a total annual income of Rs. 7.8 crores. The main provinces as existed, were Bijapur, Belgam, Sholapur, Raichur, Mirch, Bunkapur, Naldrug, Bidar, Gulbarga, Bangalore, Madura and Tanjore.

Each Tarafdar was the Supreme Civil and Military authority in his province. He commanded various forts in his province and each fort was a self sufficient unit. In each fort stipulated army units consisting of artillery, cavalry and infantry were stationed. Every fort had to store grain and fodder to last for a period of atleast 6 months. In case of deterioration, it was sold at a cheaper rate¹. Similarly ammunition had to be stored. The maintenance of all these forts was the responsibility of each Tarafdar. The Tarafdar had to make adequate defence arrangements of his province.

As the supreme civil authority, the Tarafdar was responsible for the maintenance of law and order, collection of land revenue, and other taxes, administration of justice and the development of education, arts, crafts, trade and commerce. For the discharge of all these responsibilities, the Tarafdar had adequate number of officials and the staff. For both civil and army functions the Tarafdar was responsible to the king and answerable to the Council of Ministers.

Each Taraf was divided into many districts and each district into small units of villages. The administration of the districts and villages remained with the Hindus and all village accounts were maintained in the local language. The village Panchayats continued to play an effective role in the administration of the villages.

i. Selected Waqai of the Deccan p. 63

The palace administration retained the Bahmani form. The various offices established were as follows ;

- | | |
|----------------------|--|
| a) Wakil-e-dar: | The Chief Superintendent of the royal palace; |
| b) Barbak: | Impresario at the Court; |
| c) Hajib: | Usher of the Durbar and transmitter of royal measures; |
| d) Sar-Jandaz: | Commander of the personal bodyguards; |
| e) Sarpardhadar: | Special bodyguard of the inner pavilion; |
| f) Qurbak: | In charge of royal armoury; |
| g) Shahnai-i-Bargah: | Superintendent of the Durbar; |
| h) Akhur Bak: | Superintendent of the royal stables; |
| i) Shahnah-i-Fil: | Superintendent of the elephants; |
| j) Sarabdar: | Superintendent of the water supply; |
| k) Shahnah-i-Khawan: | Superintendent of royal kitchen; |
| l) Kharitahdar: | One in charge of maps; |
| m) Sur Dawat Dar: | One in charge of royal stationery; |
| n) Chasnigor: | Taster; |

The palace and the Durbar occupied a prominent place. Pomp and show was essential and each king, depending upon his taste, gave a new colour and a fashion. The glitter of the court inspired both reverence and awe among the people.

Construction within and around the palace was to a design. A small palace around the main one grew up in course of time to meet a particular requirement. Inside Qilai Arak, besides the small and big palaces, beautiful lawns, gardens and orchards were maintained on a lavish scale with cisterns and fountains to feed.

A good portion of the palaces was earmarked for the maintenance of the harem. Paes has given a very interesting description about the harems of Vijayanagar. Within the palaces, the wives of the king lived in purdah, guarded and served by the maid-servants. The principal wives lived in their separate palaces. Sometimes instead of maid-servants, eunuchs were employed. What was true of Vijayanagar is also applicable to the Bijapur Court.

Postal service was fully organised. At every third mile chowkies were established and letters were passed on from one chowki to the other through persons appointed to do the job. These persons either went on foot or employed horses to reach the other chowki. In A.R. No. 712, 86, mention is made of the disbursement of salaries to persons employed in Dak chowkies between Bijapur and Aurangabad. There was regular communication between the different units of administration as also between the central and provincial governments. It is, however, not known whether the postal service was also open to the public.

Since there was good maritime trade from different ports of the Adil Shahi kingdoms, customs duty formed an important source of revenue. A regular department to do this work was instituted. Customs duty differed from article to article and was collected at the source of entry. Goa alone yielded to the Portuguese government a customs revenue amounting to 40,000 ducats. In all probability the customs duty was the same as during the Yadavas ranging from 5 to 10%.

In the dim past of the Bahmani age the process of cultural synthesis between the different Hindu communities in general and between the Hindus and the Muslims in particular, had started and gathered momentum. But the participation of local Hindus in administration was only nominal. During the period after the break up of the Bahmini Empire, however, a perceptible change in the emphasis took place and the local Hindus in all the five kingdoms of the Deccan were actively associated with the administration, at all levels. The village administration continued to remain with the local Hindus. The mahals which were as many as 119¹ were administered mostly by Hindus. Sirkar and Parganas were in the administrative charge of either the Muslim nobility or the Hindu Jagirdars and Mansabdars. At the provincial level one comes across the Hindu names of Shahji Bhonsle and Ekoji Bhonsle who remained Governors of Bangalore province. At the headquarters, Bijapur, police and revenue administration was mostly in the hands of Hindus. Even in the army, the recruitment of Hindus, mainly Marathas, was in abundance. The Bergy force which was the innovation of the Adil Shahis was totally composed of Marathas who perfected the art of hit and run.

Names of certain notable army generals are mentioned in *Futuh-at-i-Adil Shahi*.¹ During Ibrahim's reign Hindu generals like Appaji, Vermoj, Deo Rao, Mohandass, and Bhikaji distinguished themselves and earned laurels at the Bijapur Court. In Ali Adil II's reign along with notable Muslim personalities like Khan Mohd. Abdul Hasan, Randaula Khan, Bahlul Khan, Hindu names of Shahji, Menaji, Sharza Rao, Chokal Nakappa, Surya Rao are mentioned with great respect and reverence.² Dayanat Rao was Madar-ul-maham during Sikander's reign while Murari Pandit and Raghu Pandit³ were famous generals of the army. From some of the Farmans of the Adil Shahi period it is quite evident that the Adil Shahi kings held their Hindu officers in great respect and regard. In some, Shahji is mentioned as 'Farzand' and 'Maharaj', a rare appellation to be given to a Hindu subordinate.⁴

The author of the *Maratha Sardars* mentions that the Nimbalkars of Phaltan, Ghorpada of Madhol, Moras of Javli, Shirke, Mohite, Mane, Ghatge and Mahadik obtained places of power and honour at the Adil Shahi Court.⁵

Dr. P. M. Joshi in one of his articles has very convincingly brought out that Hindu temples were given liberal grants and the rights of the priestly class were scrupulously safeguarded by the Adil Shahi Kings.⁶

1 From the manuscript available in the British Museum. This was purchased by C.J. Erskim in 1865.

2. *Futuh-at-i-Adil Shahi* - British Museum.

3. Ibid.

4. *Farmans and Sanads of the Deccan Sultans* pp. 11-12, 14-17.

5. *Maratha Sardars* 39-53.

6. *Proceedings of the Deccan Historians Conference* p. 317

CHAPTER IX

THE ADIL SHAHI SOCIETY

The Village

Bijapur State as conceived and carved out by the Adil Shahis was a sizeable state comprising of the whole of Karnataka, some Marati speaking districts, Sholapur and Osmanabad, Tanjore and Madura of the Tamilnad and some of the Zamindaris of the present Kerala State extending up to Cochin. Because of its heterogeneous composition, each individual unit, namely, the village, was allowed to maintain its individual characteristics and the regional colour.

By and large, the Bijapur State enjoyed a temperate climate and scanty rainfall. The soil as composed was black cotton with meagre irrigation facilities.

Agriculture was the main occupation of the people. This was subsequently confirmed in 1881 when in the Karanatic region alone as many as 75% to 88% of people were employed in agriculture. It is quite possible that during the period of Adil Shahis, the proportion may have been larger, as after them, recurring famines had scared the peasant away from his plough.

Agriculture, those days knew only the traditional forms. Double crop called Mungari (Khariff) and Hingari (Rabi) was in vogue. Rotation of the crop was the fashion of the day. Green, cow-dung, and fish manure was all that was used as fertilizers. The age-old implements and two emaciated bullocks was the wherewithal of the Adil Shahi Agriculture.

The size of the holding of an average cultivator as found in 1882-83 was fifty to two hundred acres; the small holding was twentyfive to fifty acres; and the big holding was five hundred to eight hundred acres. Continuous ruination of rural areas during wars, plagues and famines following the overthrow of the Adil Shahis may have inflated the figures recorded in 1882. As otherwise, size of the holding may have been smaller during the Adil Shahi period.

The Khariff crop consisted of jawar, bajri, suji and pulses. For Rabi, they cultivated wheat, jawar, cotton, gram, linseed and alsii. More acreage was under jawar which was the staple diet of the people. Besides jawar, cotton occupied the pride of the place.

In the coastal region of Konkan, garden crops, fruits, sugar-cane, betel leaves, and vegetables were grown in abundance. It is also mentioned by Farishta that each well-to-do family maintained its own garden. These gardens grew fruits like mangoes, bananas, oranges, papaya, guava and grapes. It is mentioned in "Akbal Nama-a-Jhangiri" (page 557) that the seeds of mangoes grown in the Northern India were obtained from the Deccan. Water melons grown in areas round about Raichur flooded the market during the season.

Among the village taxes, the bulk of the land revenue was the backbone of the budget of the State. No wonder, therefore the Bahmanids and the Moghuls realised the importance of this and adopted extensive measures to rationalise the incidence and structure of the collection procedures.

The Bahamanids, under the able guidance of Mahmud Gawan, undertook measurement and classification of cultivable land throughout their dominions.

Their dominions included the entire Deccan, Berar, and eastern coast from Masulipatam to Orissa. Measurement of individual fields, lands and village occupation (Govthan), Pasture-land (Gairan), Poromboke and forest areas, was done on an extensive scale with the ordinary 'Jarib' (chain). Whether Gawan was able to cover the entire Bahmani territory is not well established. But it does appear that much work was finished and by and large, the foundations of a well-meant revenue administration were laid.

Under the Bahmanids, it does appear, from all the available evidence, that two forms of revenue assessment were prevalent in the Deccan. The 'Lang Batai' meant sharing of the crop between the State and the peasant after the harvest when crop was stocked in equal heaps and the State took its share according to the fixed proportion. This system, from the point of view of the peasant, was the best because the State became his partner in good or bad season leaving less scope for extortion based on an arbitrary assessment. But, for Government, as rightly pointed out by Abul Fazl, it meant maintenance of an army of watchmen who had to be vigilant and honest. Aurangzeb, in his *Adab-i-Alamgiri*, found this to be inconceivably expensive for the State.

The other system of revenue assessment, prevalent in the Deccan was 'Kankut'. Kan means grain and Kut stood for estimate. One, the land under crop was measured by means of a 'Jarib'. Two, the yield per bigha or acre was fixed on the basis of an eye estimate. If by mere observation the crop could not be estimated recourse was had to sample cutting. The share of the State was, then, worked out in kind commuted according to the prevailing prices in cash.

Dastur-ul-amal Navisindgi describes this system in detail.

Sadiq Khan also mentions that in some provinces of the Deccan, revenue was levied on the number of ploughs employed. No regard was paid to the quantity of crop¹ or the size of the holding. But, as correctly pointed out by Mr. Habib, this may be an exception and not a rule.

The inference that the land revenue was paid in cash in the Deccan is only deductive; there is no direct evidence on the subject. The mode of payments during the time of the Bahmanids was in cash. This is sufficiently established through the administrative records pertaining to Berar² which was a part of the Bahmani Kingdom. In Bidar and Gulburga also the tradition to collect the revenue in cash is alleged to be very old, dating back to the Bahmani Kings³. While the historians of the Deccan do not specifically mention anything about the revenue and the mode of payment, it is only inferred from what little evidence is at hand that the Deccan, perhaps, was the first to survey, measure and classify the land, fix up the revenue on the basis of existing crop and receive payment in cash⁴. This is again borne out by the fact that even during the worst of famines during the Adil Shahi period, the State did not have granaries to cater to the food requirement of the famine stricken people. This, indeed, is in sharp contrast with what Akbar did in the Northern

1. Sadiq Khan pp. 174 - f. 185 - a - b.

2. 1 H.R.C. 1929 p. 86.

Even in Gujarat the revenue was collected in cash - Akhbarat A-77.

3. Even in some parts of Orissa which were under the Bahmanids and which had no metallic currency, cowries were accepted. Master 11, p. 85. Bowrey 199.

4. Sadiq Khan of 174 f 185 a-b Kafkhan 1-p. 732 n.

India when passed special orders for collecting ten seers of grain from each bigha as part of the revenue to be stocked against the threats of famine.

In Konkan and Salsette area the land revenue, however, was received in kind. This again seems to be an exception than the rule.

Thus, it does appear that the Deccan, as a rule, was better off in the matter of land revenue. As would be evident from the table appended below, there is preponderance of the measured area in the Deccan which compared very favourably with Agra and Delhi regions where concerted effort was made in this direction by Sher Shah Suri. Because of the proper settlement of land, revenue administration was better organised in the Deccan.

Village statistics of Aurangzeb's reign:

Province	Total number of villages	Unmeasured villages	Measured villages	Measured area in bighas
The empire excluding Bijapur	4,01,567	2,01,564	2,00,003	29,57,42,337
Bihar	55,376	24,036	31,340	1,27,53,156
Oudh	52,691	18,849	33,842	1,90,07,783
Agra	30,180	2,877	27,303	4,01,00,551
Delhi	45,088	1,576	4,31,512	6,01,42,375
Gujarat	10,370	6,446	3,924	1,27,49,374
Malwa	18,678	11,742	6,936	1,29,64,538
Khandesh	6,339	3,507	2,832	88,59,325
Aurangabad	8,263	718	7,545	2,34,73,295
Berar	10,878	137	10,741	2,00,18,113
Bidar	4,526	1,007	3,519	79,06,193

As against a rate of assessment of $1/2$ of the total produce accruing to the State in the Northern India, the Deccan was already used to the Bahmani practice of paying $1/6$ th of the total produce to the State. It is also somewhat established that different slabs for different crops existed in the Deccan while such reforms could be introduced in the North only by Sher Shah Akbar, again reversed the gear and raised the revenue assessment from $1/3$ to $1/2$.¹ However strongly supported this may have been by Abul Fazl in his 'Ain', in practice, the peasant was literally left with even less than half of his produce. No wonder, therefore, the high pitch of the revenue demand, in the words of Geleynssen, did not enable the peasant "to earn more than their subsistence."² Palsaert also complained that "so much is wrung from the peasants that even dry bread is scarcely left to fill their stomachs."

The revenue system established by the Bahmanids, was continued by the Adil Shahis. While it may be true to say that the rate of assessment in the Bijapur Kingdom was lower, as in the other parts of the Deccan when compared to the one prevailing in Gujarat and even the Moghul Deccan, it was, by and large, on the high side. This is quite apparent from the fact that when famine occurred, the peasants did not have any sizeable reserves to fall back upon. They were reduced to starvation and famines and death were quick in succession, a recurring scourge of Karnataka.

The other village taxes levied by the medieval monarchs of India in general and by the Muslim

1. Ain 1 - p. 570.

2. Writing in 1629 Geleynssen said that in Gujarat a peasant paid $3/4$ which was corroborated by Fryer 1 p.p. 300-301.

potentates of the Deccan in particular were the cattle tax, ban-charai (tax on use of Government pastures), and special cess on garden cultivation. House tax was also introduced by the Bahmanids in the Deccan which was continued by the Adil Shahis. The Adil Shahis, contrary to the practice obtaining in the North, refrained from levying any 'Jizya' on non-Muslims.

In addition to the above taxes, the villagers contributed voluntarily, in kind, for the maintenance of the village services, namely black-smiths, cobblers, barbers, couriers, washermen, potters, teachers, 'Niradis' and scavengers. They also contributed in no small measure for the maintenance of temples, village roads, schools, and irrigation sources.¹

Over and above the legitimate taxation were the exactions of village and other officials. Arif enumerated them as 'Salami or bhent', Pattedari, Tahsildari, and Kharch. Salami was a bribe for giving an interview; 'pattedari' for regularising or assigning the ownership of land; Tahsildari for accepting revenue; and Kharch for meeting the expenditure of the touring officials. It is again presumed that all these were in vogue during the Adil Shahi period as they were common till the last century in the Hyderabad dominions of Gulbarga, Raichur, and Bidar.

The agrarian policy of the Moghuls was a colossal failure. In spite of the much talked of reforms of Todarmul and the great attention bestowed by Akbar and Aurangzeb on the subject of the collection of revenue, the poverty of the peasants became acute.

1. This was in vogue in the Deccan even during the Chalukyas - Refer EI-XVI-79; EI, XVI 67. EI-XV. 259. All these inscriptions indicate that lands were endowed for the maintenance of irrigation sources in Bijapur and the Karnataka.

The reasons are not far to seek. While it is true that the large army of Jagirdars and the Mansabdars created by them did serve their defence requirement and helped them in procuring ready cash, it also created a huge community of exploiters. To add fuel to the fire, the regulation pertaining to the dismissal and transfer of Jagirs infused an element of uncertainty and every Jagirdar rightly thought of making hay while the sun shines. In spite of very strict instructions the outlook of the Jagirdars is well described by Bernier as follows:-

“The Timariots (Jagirdars), Governors and revenue contractors on their part reason in this manner. Why should the neglected state of this land create uneasiness in our mind? And why should we expend our money and time to render it useful? We may be deprived of it in a single moment and exertions would neither benefit ourselves nor our children. Let us draw from the soil and the money we can though the peasant should starve or abscond and we should leave it, when commanded to quit into a dreary wilderness.”

Similarly, in non-Jagir areas, the collection of revenue was left in the hands of an avaricious band of petty collectors who found their jobs insecure. Following the practice of the state and the Jagirdars, they took to exploitation and satisfied their greed at the expense of the poor peasants. If the peasants did not comply with, all kinds of punishments were inflicted on them. Bernier described, “They are carried off, attached to heavy iron chains, to various markets and fairs to be sold, with their poor unhappy wives behind them carrying their

small children in their arms, all crying and lamenting over the evil plight.” Due to these reasons, Palsaert mentions “The fields lie unsown and grew into wilderness” in Jehangir’s reign. Even Aurangzeb admitted of these conditions in his ‘Adab.’

Bernier’s long discourse on the ills of the Moghul Empire also reveals that even the agricultural labour was so much oppressed by the officials that they abandoned the home and took refuge in wilderness so much so that “good land remained untilled.”

Thus, it is quite apparent that in spite of the sermons that Aurangzeb gave through his Firmans about the assessment of the revenue, collection of the duties and obligations of the officials they remained pious promises for the peasants, who quite exasperated, were ready to overthrow the Government. At the slightest pretext, they would raise the banner of revolt. Azam Khan, the Government of Gujarat, had to lead an expedition to Navnagar to quell such a revolt. A similar campaign had to be organised in Malwa. In Kuch Bihar in 1661, the peasants expelled the Moghul troops and officers.

In Agra region, the Jat rebellion of the peasants in 1669 made the fanatic King Aurangzeb pass a few months of sleepless nights. The Jat rebellion was the first organised attempt of the peasants under the leadership of the old Zamindars. Similarly the way Aurangzeb described the Satnami Revolt of Punjab, as produced below, speaks for itself :—

“To the spectators of the wonderful works of fate the occurrence of this event is a cause of amazement, i.e., what comes into the head

of this rebellious, destitute gang of goldsmiths, carpenters, sweepers, tanners, peasants that their conceited brains became so overclouded? Rebellious pride got into their brain and their head became too heavy for their shoulders. By their own legs, they were caught in the snare of annihilation. To unveil this tale, this huge band of mischief-makers of the region, all of a sudden, sprang up from the earth like moths and fell down from the sky like locusts."

Thus, it is quite evident that the empire of the Moghuls was no Government of the people. Even the great Akbar, who certainly was great in many respects, was only superficial as an administrator as he conceived of great projects whose execution left much to be desired. Even he could not endear himself to the rural India which is the real india. Thus, the agrarian policy followed by the Moghuls was so defective that even Khafi Khan had to say:

"Many parganas and townships, which used to yield full revenue, have, owing to the repression, been so far ruined that they have become forests infested with tigers and lions. The villages are so utterly ruined and desolate that there is no sign of habitation on the routes."

As against this panorama in the North, the South presented somewhat a different landscape. The Hindu Rajas of the South had always realised that the prosperity of the country depended upon a contented peasantry. They paid special attention to the condition

of peasants and agriculture and adopted measures, extensively, to provide them with irrigation facilities, and keep the Government cess well within reasonable limits. Small and big tanks were constructed to irrigate the fields, revenue administration was so well organised at the village level that a steady income kept flowing into the Government treasury without creating any acrimony. The states were small and compact and, therefore, personal touch always existed. The Bahmanids kept of the traditions of the Hindus, kept the revenue cess at the same level and employed the old and established Hindu agencies to collect the taxes and run the village administration. Further, they did not create a huge army of Jagirdars as the Moghuls did. A few compatriots had to be rewarded and the old ones retained, yet the system was not unwieldy. They as well as their successors had a full grip over the gamut of the revenue hierarchy.

In the matter of agrarian policy, Adil Shahis followed their worthy predecessors. They constructed more irrigation tanks wherever possible and kept the land taxes at the old level. Their supervision and control over the revenue officials was effective and, therefore oppression of the peasantry was almost unheard of. This, however, did not mean that the peasants were not poor. They were poor, half fed, badly clothed, uneducated, and diseased yet not oppressed and penalised as in the Northern India. The conquest of the Deccan by the Bahmanids or the Adil Shahis did not aggravate their poverty while, as Xavier declared, in both Gujarat and Kashmir, the Moghul conquest greatly increased the misery of the rural population, "for they destroyed everything with their oppression."

The Shudras formed the landless class. They were the village labourers attending to all the sundry work of the village. They were scavengers, post carriers, domestic servants, cattle feeders, forest guards, cobblers, cutters and hewers of wood, bullock cart drivers and the 'Begar' (unpaid labourer) who danced to the tune of village officials just for morsel of food. The only return the village labourer got was in kind, a fixed measure of grain from all the caste Hindus at the time of harvest. Added to this were the gifts of old, worn out clothes which he got from his generous patrons. Beyond this, he could ask for no more. The schools were closed to him. The temples with their gods inside were forbidden stars who could only smile on him from a distance, inspiring reverence in him rather than resentment. His wife had the freedom to slave and his children to live a life of naked poverty, dust, dirt and disease. The jungle fruit, the wild roots supplemented his diet, the nectar of toddy, the free gift of nature, softened his nerves and obliterated his sense of servile existence. The luxury of an omnipotent death gave him carcasses and the flesh of dead animals on which he extensively feasted. In short, the village labourer was a pitiable figure, sometimes his fragile personality was thrown into a storm of activity when he earned. But, oftentimes, he lived on shrinking charities and how he could really live is not fiction but a fact.

The supporting avocation of the peasantry was husbandry, poultry and dairy farming. Some of them took to cottage industries during their leisure. Better known industries were weaving, spinning and cotton-ginning. Sugar and gur production was another lucrative village industry. From "Waq-i-Deccan" (pages. 37, 43, 75 and 76), it appears that the price of sugar was twice that of the wheat.

Extraction of oil was another village industry manned by the Telis. Carpenters, blacksmiths, potters, washermen, barbers completed the hierarchy of the village as observed by Monserrate in 1579 in the Salsette Island and Konkan coast.

Cattle breeding was also common. Each village set apart a good portion of land (Gairan) as pasture. Milk, butter, curd and ghee was available in plenty. When the price of ghee in the North was nearly fourteen times the price of wheat, in the Deccan, it was being sold at 7-9 times only. Waq-i-Deccan (pages 43, 44), the price of ghee is shown as 5-7 times that of wheat.

The milling of jowar and wheat and ricehusking was done in every home by the housewife. Even cotton after being picked, and cleaned, was spun into yarn at home and then sold in the market.

During the time of the Adil Shahis, Bijapur was in the grip of very severe famine which lasted from 1630-32 A.D. It was very destructive in character and if the assessment of Qazwimi and Sadiq Khan can be accepted the price of gram was rupee one per two pounds; "parents sold their children, hides of cattle and the flesh of dogs was eaten, the crushed bones of the dead were sold with flour and ultimately cases of Cannibalism became common". Sadiq Khan mentions that wholesale migration took place from the affected regions and later, peasants had, therefore, to be brought in forcibly from other areas to cultivate the land.

There were three channels of trade in a village. The local village bazaar had a few shops selling grains, textiles, tobacco, lanterns, utensils and oil. These

shops were run by 'Bania' caste. In addition to this, Tavernier mentions that the 'Lambadas' who were in a large number in the Deccan moved from place to place carrying and selling corn, rice, pulses and salt. They were nomads and moved in company called 'Tanda' and carried the commodities on their own bullocks. It is also mentioned that they sold things cheaper since no extra transport cost was added.

Weekly markets are the oldest institutions of Indian village economy. For a group of villages, such markets were organised at specified places on fixed days. Such markets existed throughout the Deccan. Peasants brought grain, pulses, gur, yarn, oils, vegetables, poultry and cattle for sale and in lieu bought things that they needed that is, the cloth, utensils, bangles, cattles, agricultural implements; mutton, sugar and sweets.

The Adil Shahis patronised the continuance of weekly bazaars. In fifty villages and towns such markets were held; four in Indi Taluk at Indi, Chadchan, Tambe and Halsangi; eight in Sindgi at Hippargi, Bhatnur, Meratgi, Malghan, Almel, Kovar, Golgeri and Sindgi; five in Bijapur at Kannur, Mamdapur, Shivangi, Bablad and Bijapur; eight in Begevadi at Kolhar, Golsangi, Ukli, Vandal, Mangoli, Nidgundi and Huvir Hippargi, six in Muddebih, three in Bagalkot; nine in Badami; and seven in Hungund. Except in Bagalkot where cows were sometimes exchanged for bullocks, there was little or no barter.

In addition to weekly markets, fairs provided another channel of trade and commerce for villagers besides recreation. Such fairs were held in forty places; six in Indi, five in fridgi, seven in Bijapur, four in Bagevadi, two in Muddebihal, seven in Bagalkot, three

in Badami and six in Hungand. They were held in specified months lasting from 2-15 days depending upon their importance and attendance. The biggest fair was held at Hippargi for 15 days, and nearly 30-40 thousand people attended.

During the reign of Jehangir, Pelsaert visited India and described the life of the common people "as poverty too great and miserable" and "a home of stark want and the dwelling place of bitter woe". The life of the peasants under the Adil Shahi could have been no better. Shivaji's statement as recorded by Fryer seems to corroborate this. Shivaji described the requirements of the common people as, "the common people-money is inconvenient for them, give them victuals and arse-clout it is enough" ¹

Most of the peasants lived in small huts-huts made of mud walls with a roof of straw. ² Those of them who were a little better economically had the tile-roofed with an additional room. Mud-palace called 'Gadi' belonged either to the Zamindar or to the prosperous village officials. The hut was an all purpose room with cots; a wooden box containing clothes etc., with a corner to serve as a cooking place with an attached hole in the mud wall to drain out water, and the other coner had big earthen jars to contain the seed, the grain and pulses etc. for every day consumption.

Cooking was done on stoves made of mud. Earthen pots were used as cooking utensils with the exception of a small iron pan for baking bread. Yousuf Adil ate in earthen pots. Luischoten says the peasants in Kanara "Commonly drink out of a copper can

1. Fryer " - p. 66.

2. Early Travels 16-Roc 68 - Fitch-Ryley 94-95.

with a spout-which is all the metal they had within their houses".¹ we are also told by Manucci that their plate was a leaf or a small copper plate out of which the whole family ate.

The staple diet of the peasants was Javar or Bajri bread with gur² and onions. Occasionally vegetables and pulses entered their menu and very rarely mutton, fish and poultry. Milk and curds were commonly used and there is also evidence to the effect that ghee, often fruits, was a part of their diet.³ Seasonal fruit of the common kind was also extensively used-For cooking vegetables, mutton and fish, pure oil was used with chillies, onions, cuminseed, coriander seed and ginger.⁴

Except the Lingayats and the Brahmins, every one ate mutton but rather occasionally to suit their purse. The common drink was toddy. "A pipe of tobacco" was a poor man's luxury; the pipe was earthen. Pan-eating was not in vogue.

In regard to clothing, the peasants of Bijapur were as poorly clad as anybody else in India. Men wore dhoti and women sari. Bhimsen described, "Men tie up a dirty scarf on their head and a small piece of cloth for hiding and one sheet of calico thrown over their shoulder, this suffices for years. Women wear a cloth of 3-4 cubits long round the waist, like a lung, leaving the head and breasts bare."⁵ In the Salsette island, they went naked, both men and women, covering their privities with a clout and their breasts with another ..

1. Linschoten 1, pp. 261-262.

2. Early Travels p. 325.

3. Ibid p. 296.

4. Early Travels, p. 324

5. Dilkusha f. 113 a - Bhimsen was a native of Aurangabad - Early Travels 16, 47 - Fitch, Ryby - 186.

leaving the arms, thighs and legs bare. It is presumed that this was the common dress in the Konkan coast.

The Towns

The narrative of Paes relates to the period A. D. 1520-2. He principally came to visit the kingdom of Vijayanagar. On all accounts, it is fairly established that he came by sea and got down at one of the ports of the West Coast, which of them is difficult to say since the names he has mentioned are still unidentified and bear the remotest resemblance even to the glossary of ancient Dakshinapatha. The surmise, however, is that he may have used one of the known Western ports like Chaul, Dabul or Goa, the nearest points to enter the Vijayanagar Empire. All the three, mentioned above, belonged to the Adil Shahi Kingdom, Goa being occupied by the Portuguese subsequently. From any of these ports, it was quite unavoidable to go through the Adil Shahi territory till Paes crossed the river, Tungabhadra, after Mudgal to get into the Hindu kingdom. Sewell has tried to identify some of the names of the towns and cities mentioned by Paes but they are totally unreliable since they do not fit in with any of the accepted routes. If it is to be considered that Paes got down at Bhatkal, then he should have gone to Dwarasamudra, Penugonda and then to Vijayanagar in which case he would not have come across any of the Adil Shahi territory. But his mention of 'Serra' the mountain range "by which you enter the city" and the 'serra' going up to 'Rachol (Raichur)' clearly indicates that he did not follow the Bhatkal-Dwara-Samudra route. But from Bhatkal he could have gone along the Tungabhadra river. Since not a mention has been made of the Tungabhadra river, it is considered that he may have gone only through one of the Adil Shahi ports along the 'Serra' leading to Vijayanagar.

Till Paes reached Vijayanagar, he described the intervening country as fertile growing rice with gardens of oranges, lime, citrons - "The oil which it produces comes from seeds sown and afterwards reaped, and they obtain it by means of machines which they make. This country wants water because it is very great and has few streams, they make lakes in which water-collects when it rains and thereby they maintain themselves." He also speaks about the cattle wealth of this country. From the description of Paes one gets the image of Karnataka and of the Adil Shahi dominions, Paes mentions that all along his route there were villages and Towns. Towns gave an appearance of being prosperous. This is confirmed by Barbosa who was in Karnataka from 1500-1514. He said of Bijapur "Yousuf Adil Shah once thought of having his capital at Goa. Even now he frequently goes to Goa where merchant ships, from Mecca, Aden and Ormez etc. land. Goa is a big town with beautiful mansions, fine roads, temples and churches. The King has splendid ships and has cast guns in iron and brass. The flourishing agriculture gives Bijapur bumper crops in Yousuf's kingdom. There is prosperous inland trade. The Hindu soldiers are of blackish complexion but very strong and brave. They are skilled archers and go to battle with swords and shields and bows and arrows."

What Paes described of the Vijayanagar market holds good for the Adil Shahi dominions since they were contiguous, only divided by the Tungabhadra river. About Vijayanagar market Paes wrote that it abounded in grains, meat, poultry, fruits, vegetables, pulses and fish and partridges. He stated, "They give three fowls in the city for a coin worth a "vintem" ($1\frac{7}{20}$ of a penny)... they give 6-8 partridges for Vintem."

Asad Beg, Akbar's emissary, visited Bijapur in 1604 A. D. during the time of Ibrahim and has given a detailed account. He described it as full of lofty buildings, palaces, and private houses, with porticos. The city was airy and the climate, healthy. A big market, thirty yards wide and four miles long, neat and clean, was full of shops on both the sides. Before each shop there was a tree, and the market was full of goods, 'which are not seen or heard of in other towns.' In the Jeweller's shop were ornaments of all sorts arranged in decorated shelves rising one over the other. By the side of this was the baker with all sorts of rare viands arranged on the tier of shelves. Further on was the cloth shop. Then the shop of perfumes with delicate China vessels, valuable crystals, pottery, costly cups filled with choice and rare essences. Near this was fruit seller with all kinds of fruits and sweets and on the other-side a wine merchant's shop and an establishment of singers and dancing girls, beautiful women adorned with jewels and fair faced choristers - "In short the market was filled with wine and beauty, dancing girls, perfumes, jewels and palaces. In one street, thousands of people were drinking, dancing and pleasuring. None quarrelled, and this state of enjoyment was perpetual. Perhaps no place in the world could present a more wonderful spectacle to the eye of the traveller."¹

External Trade :

The Adil Shabis were fortunate in the possession of a good portion of the Western India. Their dominions, during Ibrahim's period, extended from Daman to Mysore in the South. They were in possession of 11 big and small ports which were,

1. Elliot and Dawson, VI- 163-164.

Daman, Chaul, Dabul, the major ones, and the smaller were Bassein, Bombay, Bankot, Sangameshwar, Ratnagiri, Vijayadurg, Vengurla and Karwar. Goa also belonged to them about which Barbosa described 'as a very great city with good houses, vegetable and fruit gardens, and tanks of sweet water.' It was a mere centre of all trade and "Yielded to the Portuguese Government an enormous annual revenue of 40,000 ducats".

From Daman, Chaul and Dabul, the Adil Sahis routed their main external trade. The external trade, not only in the Deccan but also in the entire South, was in the hands of the Arabs and the Persians called 'Moors and Mappillas'—Because of their enterprising spirit and shrewd salesmanship, they were not only patronised by the Muslim kings but also by the Hindu rulers. In Calicut and Quilon, the Hindu chiefs greatly patronised them. In Calicut as soon as a foreign merchant arrived, he was assigned by the king a Nayar bodyguard, a Chetty accountant, and a local broker.

It has been mentioned that the Persian and Arab merchants settled in the Adil Shahi dominions and in Gujarat. They visited Aden, the Red Sea coast, and the S.E. Asian ports annually and transacted substantial business. The foreign businessmen also visited their counterparts in the Deccan and the South.

The Deccan exports comprised of pepper, cloves, ginger, cardamoms, sandal and Brazil wood, saffron, Indigo, wax, iron, sugar, rice, coconuts, precious stones, Benzoin, porcelain, textiles and Bengal

muslins. The imports included horses, ammunition, guns dates, raisins, salt, sulphur and coarse seed-pearls. Barbosa mentions that the trade between the Western ports and Aden was very impressive and was 'Richer than any other place in the world.'

Internal Trade:

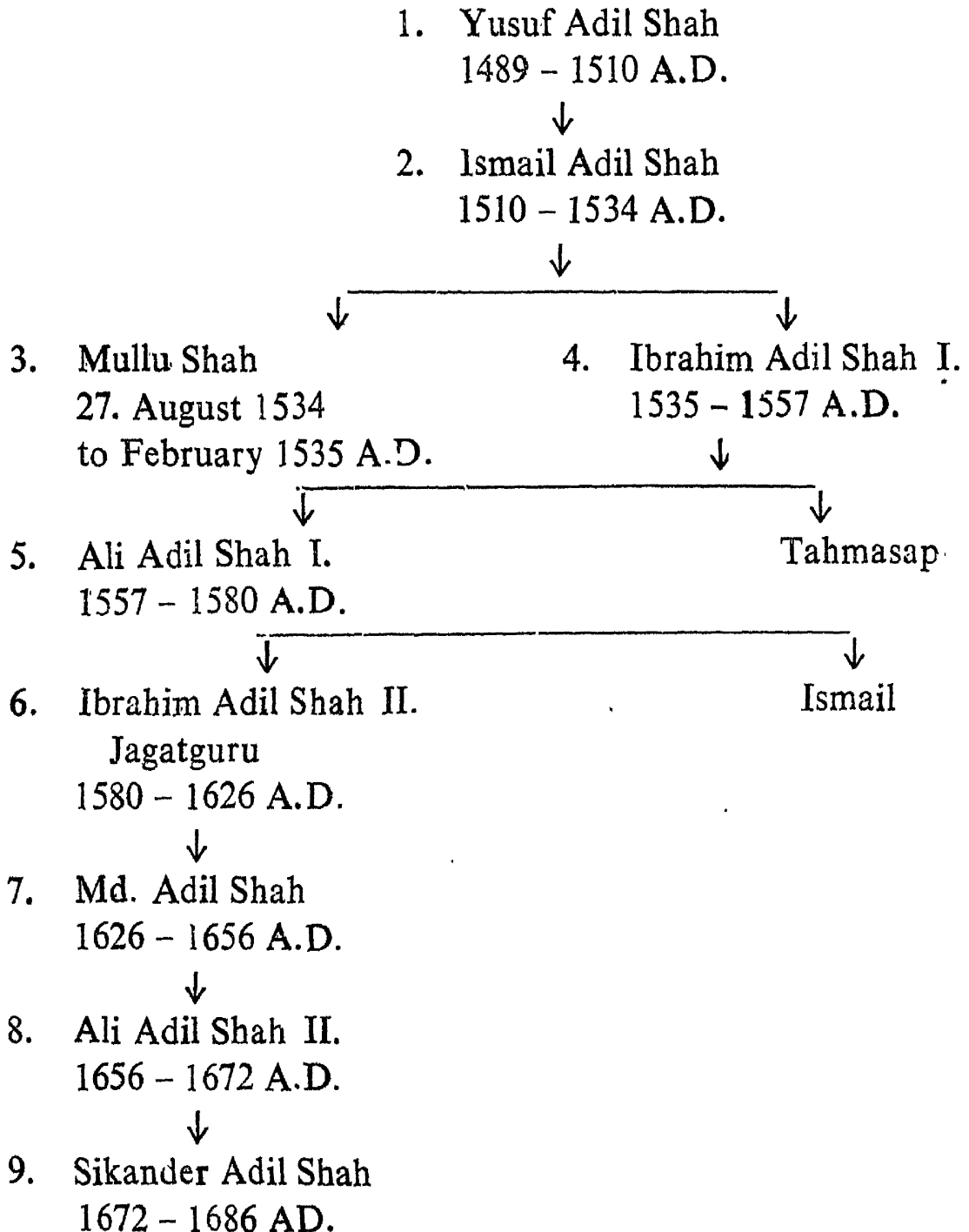
The internal trade was in the hands of the Hindus. They received the import and arranged sale and distribution. Similarly, they bought all the exportable goods and supplied them to the exporters. It is mentioned "Copper imported from abroad was borne from the Deccan port of Dabul in large quantities to the interior, whence were obtained in return cloth, wheat, millet and pulses " "The Hindu merchants of Daulatabad, we are again told, "Dealt chiefly in pearls and were very wealthy"

The French traveller, Mandelslo, who visited India in 1638, described Bijapur as "one of the greatest cities of Asia ', 15 miles long with a huge stone wall provided with 1000 guns all round. Most of the traders lived in the five suburbs, Jorapur, Ibrahimpur, Allapur, Bammanhalli and Shahpur. Those who dealt in diamonds, pearls and jewellery lived in Shahpur. Tavernier's account (1648) corroborates with this. He thought that the kingdom of Bijapur was prosperous; agriculture and trade were in a flourishing state "the King of Bijapur was the most powerful king of the Deccan."

APPENDIX I.

Genealogy of the Adil Shahis

Nine Kings - 1489 A. D. - 1686 A. D.



APPENDIX II.¹

ENGLISH SUMMARIES OF FARMANS AND SANADS OF THE ADIL SHAHIS

No. 1. / A. R. No.*

15th Ziqada, 1018 A. H.

30th January, 1610 A. D.

Photographic copy of a document with regard to presenting a volume of the Holy Quran by the wife of Yaqut, the protege of Ibrahim Adil II, to be used for recitation at the shrine of Hazarat Sayyid Muhammad Gesu Daraz, the saint of Gulbarga.

Bearing the seal of Yaqut.

No. 2. / A. R. No. 5084

9th Ziqada, 1051 A. H.

30th January, 1642 A. D.

Farman of Muhammad Adil Shah in respect of the appreciation of the services rendered by Shahji Bhonsle in Carnatic and the orders for him to co-operate with the newly-appointed officers Rahmat Khan, Afzal Khan and Ghazi Khan.

1. By Courtesy of the Govt. of Andhra Pradesh.

No. 3. / A. R. No.*

2nd Zilhija, 1066 A. H.
23rd September, 1656 A. D.

Photographic copy of the Farman of Muhammad Adil Shah in respect of the grant of four Chawars of land, one from the suburb of the district of Nakankara and others from different districts by way of Inam Shah Abdul Qadir, son of Hazrat Shah Badruddin Shariful Qadri. It also contains details that the grant of land is subjected to the usual Government dues, while ready money (cash amount) procured from different heads is permitted to be enjoyed by the grantee.

The Farman bears illegible seals.

No. 4. / A. R. No. 5080

6th Jamadi I, 1068 A. H.

30th June, 1658 A. D.

Farman of Ali Adil II, bearing the royal seal ordering Shahji Bhonsle to co-operate with Afzal Khan, the newly-appointed Governor of the Carnatic.

No. 5. / A. R. No. 5120

1070 A. H.

1659-1660 A. D.

A gold sprinkled Arzdasht (petition) submitted by Shahji Bhonsle to Ali Adil Shah II, reporting that the people of Tanjore had requested him through Naru Pandit to release the Guru after receiving a present. He Further adds that he had recovered the arrears from Dek

*This document belongs to the collection of Maulvi Ali Asghar Bilgrami, Ex-Subedar, Aurangabad.

Sek, but the tribute could not be realized on account of the misunderstanding created by Itemad Rao.

Shahji further explains that the Telingas and Wakib Naik fell upon him with a huge army to create disturbance and to stop the realisation of revenue. But he being a true and loyal servant of his master launched an attack with his strong and well-equipped army and defeated them. In the meanwhile he was informed that the followers of the Guru had besieged the fort at Devanapatan, but they were compelled to flee.

The followers of the Guru organized their resistance again in the fortress of Arni, but their food supplies were cut off and no provisions could reach them and they had to offer submission.

No. 6/ A.R.No. 5082

22nd Jamadi I, 1071 A. H.

13th January, 1661 A. H.

Farman of Ali Adil Shah II, directing Chokal Nakappa, Naik of Madura, to remit his Peshkash to Shahji Bhonsle and Hasan Ambar Khan who were officially authorised to supervise the administration of the territories of Madura and Tanjore.

The Farman bears the royal seal.

No. 7/A.R. No. 5079

11th Rajab, 1074 A. H.

29th January, 1664 A. D.

Farman of Ali Adil Shah II, offering condolence to Ekoji Bhonsle (son of Shahji Bhonsle) on the death of his son and directing

him to co-operate with Nawab Abdurrahim Bahlol Khan, Commander-in-chief of the armies, informing him that a Farman bearing the royal Panja (finger-print) will be issued later.

The Farman bears the royal seal.

No. 8./A.R. No. 5081

16th Ziqada, 1074 A. H.

31st May, 1664 A. D.

Farman of Ali Adil Shah II, granting Desmukhi and Deskulkarni of the Muhammadabad pargana to Ekoji Bhonsle.

The Farman bears the royal seal.

No. 9./A.R. No. 5081

16th Ziqada, 1074 A. H.

31st May, 1664 A. D.

Farman of Ali Adil Shah II, in respect of the grant of the Kobarkab village to Ekoji Bhonsle, son of Shahji Bhonsle.

The Farman bears the royal seal.

No. 10./A.R.No. 5117

16th Ziqada, 1374 A. H.

31st May, 1664 A. D.

Farman of Ali Adil Shah II, regarding the grant of

hereditary posts of Desmukhi and Deskulkarni of the Qadirabad and Balvansur parganas together with the grant of the village of Kudnur as Inam to Ekoji Bhonsle, the son of Shahji Bhonsle,

The Farman bears the royal seal.

No. 11./A.R, No. 5119

16th Ziqada, 1074 A. H.

31st May, 1664 A. D.

Farman of Ali Adil Shah II, conveying Imperial orders to the effect that Islampur alias Bangalore has been granted to Ekoji Bhonsle with authority to realise the Abwabs (cesses) except on tobacco.

The Farman bears the royal seal.

No. 12./A.R. No. 94

1st Muharram, 1076 A. H.

4th July, 1665 A.D.

Farman of Ali Adil Shah II, issued in the name of Siddi Ibrahim, the Hawaldar of Nusratabad, admonishing the revenue officials and the inhabitants of Anab Buzurg not to interfere in the grant of Shaikh Ishaq Sahib, residing in?

The Farman bears the royal seal.

No. 13./A.R. No. 5118

16th Jamadi II, 1082 A. H.

10th October, 1671 A. D.

Farman of Ali Adil Shah II, bearing orders for the grant of

territories known by the name of Mulak Jagdev and other villages, etc. together with the Desmukhi of pargana Aund and also granting an Inam to Ekoji Bhonsle in exchange of his former grant. He was also ordered that he should remit to the royal treasury the difference between the income of the old and the new grant.

The Farman bears the seal of Sultan Ali Adil Shah.

No. 14./A.R. No. 7460

23rd Rajab, 1089 A. H.

31st August, 1678 A. D.

Farman of Sultan Sikandar Adil Shah addressed to revenue officials of Nusratabad regarding the grant of Inam in perpetuity to Pitaji Lakshman Sen Desai and Deskulkarni from the village of Koparla Buzurg, with authority to realise the Abwabs (cesses) except on tobacco.

The Farman bears the royal seal.

APPENDIX III

THE ADIL SHAHI SEALS

During the last ten years about a thousand Adil Shahi *Firmans* have been found. Some of these appeared to be forged, some tampered and therefore indention becomes difficult. But the seals have helped a lot in establishing the different periods.

The seals can be classified in four categories :

1. The seals which were used at the top of some *Firmans*,
2. The Prime Minister's seal,
3. The seal used at the end of the *Firmans*,
4. Seal used at the back of the *Firmans*,

Out of all these the last two are difficult to identify.

The seal of the king used at the top of the document in each case is quite legible, unlike the Prime Minister's seal.

The seal of Ali Adil I is two inches round and is kept in the Museum at Bijapur. Some seals of Sikander Adil's period have also been found.

Among the seals belonging to the category of Prime Minister's, there are some which are identified with the names of Eklas Khan, Mustafa Khan and Sherza Khan.

APPENDIX IV.

THE ADIL SHAHI MARKETS.

(By Courtesy of the Government of A. P.)

The table of sub-division of a rupee shows that

- 4 Cowries are equal to 1 Ganda,
- 2 Gandas are equal to 1 Addhi,
- 2 Addhis are equal to 1 Damri,
- 2 Damris/ = 4 Addhis/are equal to 1 Adhela,
- 4 Damries/ = 8 Addhis/are equal to 1 Paisa,
- 8 Damries/ = 16 Addhis/are equal to 1 Tanka,
- 2 Tankas or 2 Adhannas are equal to 1 Anna,
- 16 Annas are equal to 1 Rupee.

It may be added that the sub-division of an Anna, though familiar as a unit of account does not appear as a sub-division of currency during the period covered by the Waqai, and most probably even much later¹.

Siyaha for the market rate of the Aurangabad City describing exchange rates of coins, buying and selling rates of gold and silver and buying and selling rates of grains and other commodities, prepared under the supervision of Mir Abul Qasim, the Darogha, with the approval of Shaikh Muhammad Saeed, the Muhtasib/the Superintendent of the market.

i. Moreland, *From Akbar to Aurangzeb*, p 331.

In this appendix the market rates of Aurangabad, Dharur and Udgir have been given. Although Aurangabad was a part of the Moghul dominions, its proximity with Bijapur is so close that the rates could have been the same in the Adil Shahi dominions. Bidar was a part of the Adil Shahi dominions and so was Udgir. Similarly, Dharur may have been with the Adil Shahis although no definite evidence exists to this effect.

ASHRAFIS 22 (Gold coins)

Kind	Rates				Rates			
	In Alamgiri coins.				In Shahjahani coins.			
	Buying.		Selling.		Buying		Selling.	
	RS.	AS.	RS.	AS	RS.	AS.	RS.	AS.
Alamgiri.	14	9	14	10	14	11	14	12
Shahjahani.	14	8	14	9	14	10	14	11

RUPEES (Silver coins)

Kind	Rates			
	Buying.		Selling.	
	Tankas.	Dams.	Tankas.	Dams.
According to Regulation (Zabta)				
(a) Alamgiri ²³	15	6½	15	...
According to Market rate				
	15	...	14	43½
(b) Shahjahani ²⁴	14	43½	14	37½
	tanka ²⁵			
(c) Chalni ²⁶ and Berari	14	28½	14	21 7/8
(d) Khazana ²⁷	14	21 7/8	14	15 5/8

RATES OF EXCHANGE

(a) Alamgiri	Rs. 100 – Shahjahani.	Rs. 100 12 Tankas 25 Dams
(b) Shahjahani	Rs. 100 – Chalni	Rs. 100 31 Tankas 12 Dams
(c) Chalni	Rs. 100 – Khazana	Rs. 100 12 Tankas 25 Dams



HOONS—GOLD COINS.

		Rates							
Sl.		In Alamgiri coins							
No.	Kind	Buying				Selling			
		Rs	As	Tankas	Dams	Rs	As	Tankas	Dams
1.	Achut Rai ²⁸	4	4	...	...	4	4½	...	...
2.	Kishan Rai ²⁹	4	4	...	...	4	4½	...	...
3.	Ubhuk (sic)	4	4	...	...	4	4½	...	...
4.	Dev Rai ³⁰	3	9¼	1	2 ⅛	3	9¼	1	20 7/8
5.	Jutur ³¹	3	9¼	1	2 ⅛	3	9¼	1	20 7/8
6.	Ganesh								
	Madura ³²	3	9¼	1	2 ⅛	3	9¼	1	20 7/8
7.	Bhurma ³³	3	9¼	1	2 ⅛	3	9¼	1	20 7/8
8.	Mabrah (sic)	3	9¼	...	39 5/8	3	9¼	1	8 3/8
9.	Jutur.	3	9¼	...	39 5/8	3	9¼	1	8 3/8
10.	Sri Ranga rai ³⁴	3	9¼	1	36½	3	9¼	2	5½
11.	Chaul ³⁵	3	8¼	1	33 3/8	3	8¼	2	2 1/8
12.	Siv Raj ³⁶	3	8¼	1	33 3/8	3	8¼	2	2 1/8
13.	Chand	3	8¼	1	20 7/8	3	8¼	1	39 5/8
14.	Govind								
	Padshahi	3	8¼	1	20 7/8	3	8¼	1	39 5/8
15.	Mylapori ³⁷	3	8¼	1	33 3/8	3	8¼	2	2 1/8
16.	Tirumala ³⁸	3	8¼	1	33 3/8	3	8¼	2	2 1/8
17.	Portuguesi ³⁹	3	8¼	1	33 3/8	3	8¼	2	2 1/8
18.	Tubaki ⁴⁰	3	8¼	...	49	3	8½	1	17½
19.	Muhammad								
	Khani Kararah	3	8¼	...	49	3	8¼	1	17½
20.	Adhoni ⁴¹	3	5¼	...	49	3	5¼	1	17½
21.	Ghalib Khani	3	5¼	...	49	3	5¼	1	17½

HOONS—GOLD COINS.

Sl No.	Kind	Rates							
		In Alamgiri coins							
		Buying.				Selling.			
		Rs	As	Tankas	Dams	Rs	As	Tankas	Dams
22.	Harihari ⁴²	3	5½	...	49	3	5	1	17¾
23.	Ambershahi ⁴³	3	5½	...	49	3	5	1	17¾
24.	Dharwar ⁴⁴	3	4½	1	24	3	4½	1	42¾
25.	Takhati (sic)	3	4½	1	24	3	4½	1	42¾
26.	Bhakki ⁴⁵								
	Old coins.	3	2½	1	5½	3	2½	1	24
	New coins.	3	1½	1	24	3	1½	1	42¾
27.	Nisari ⁴⁶	3	½	...	30½	3	½	...	49
28.	Nellori ⁴⁷	2	11½	...	30	2	11½	...	49

MUZAFFARI Etc.,

29.	Muzaffari								
	Miranshahi ⁴⁸	1	1	...	12½	1	...	1	18¾
30.	Mahmudi								
	Changiz								
	Khani ⁴⁹	2	½	...	...	2	½	...	6½

LARI

31.	Dabholi ⁵⁰	2	½	1	43¾	2	½	2	...
32.	Hurmuzi ⁵¹	2	½	...	43¾	2	½	1	...

GOLD PRICES

Kind	Rates				Rates			
	In Alamgiri coins.				In Shahjahni coins.			
	Buying.		Selling		Buying.		Selling	
	RS.	AS.	RS.	AS.	RS.	AS.	RS.	AS.
(sic) to Ban ⁵²								
per Tola.	15	8½	15	9½	15	10½	15	11½
Ibrahimi Old,								
1st Quality,	14	15½	15	½	15	1½	15	2½
9½ Ban, 2								
Grains per Tola.								

SILVER PRICES

	Rates.				Rates			
	In weight.				In Alamgiri coins.			
	Buying		Selling		Buying		Selling.	
	Mash- as.	Sur- khs.	Mas- as.	Sur- khs.	Rs.	As.	Rs.	As.
Chandi per	11½	1	11½	½	...	...	...	...
Alamgiri Rupee.								
(sic) per Alamgiri								
Rupee	11½	1	11½	½	...	...	...	...
Riyal per seer					22	10	22	12
seer - 24 Tolas.								
Abbasi per seer								
seer - 24 Tolas				...	23	6	23	8

**Statement Showing the Buying and Selling Rates of Grains, Oils and
Other Commodities in Chalni Rupee in the Shahgunj and
other Markets.**

Kind	I Class				II Class				III Class			
	Buying		Selling		Buying		Selling		Buying		Selling	
	Mnd.	Srs.	Mnd.	Srs.	Mnd.	Srs.	Mnd.	Srs.	Mnd.	Srs.	Mnd.	Srs.
	Shahjahani				Shahjahani				Shahjahani			
1. Wheat. (sic)	...	29	...	28	...	30	...	29	...	...	...	...
(sic)	...	30	...	29½	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
2. Nakhud.												
(Gram)	...	39	...	38	1	...	...	39	...	...	...	...
3. Jawari.	1	1	1	...	1	2	1	1	...	...	...	...
4. Bajri	...	38	...	37	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
(Millet)												
5. Mung.	...	16	...	15½	...	17	...	16	...	...	...	...
6. Mash.	...	24	...	23	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
7. Lentils	...	36	...	35	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
8. (sic)	1	7½	1	6½	1	9	1	8	...	...	...	...
9. Linseed etc.												
(sic)	1	7	1	6	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
(sic)	...	28	...	27	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
(sic)	...	31	...	30	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
(sic)	1	5	1	4	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
10. Sesame	...	16	...	15½	...	19	...	18	...	...	...	...
11. Kattha	...	17	...	16	...	18	...	17	...	...	...	...
12. Tuwar.	...	34	...	33	...	35	...	34	...	...	...	...
13. Salt.	1	12	1	11	1	13	1	12	...	...	...	...

AURANGAPURA MARKET

Kind	I Class				II Class				III Class			
	Buying.		Selling.		Buying.		Selling.		Buying.		Selling.	
	Mnd.	Srs.	Mnd.	Srs.	Mnd.	Srs.	Mnd.	Srs.	Mnd.	Srs.	Mnd.	Srs.
	Shahjahani		Shahjahani		Shahjahani		Shahjahani		Shahjahani		Shahjahani	
1. Wheat.												
(sic) ...	28½	...	27½	...	29½	...	28½	...	...	...	...	...
(sic) ...	30	...	28½	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
2. Nakhud												
(Gram) ...	38½	...	37½	...	39½	...	38½	...	...	...	...	...
3. Jawari 1	...	...	39	...	...	1	...	1	4	1	3	
4. Bajri												
(Millet) ...	37½	...	36½	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
5. Mung ...	16	...	15	...	17½	...	16½	...	...	...	...	...
6. Lentils ...	35½	...	34½	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
7. (sic) 1	8	1	7	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
8. Sesame ...	17½	...	16½	...	18½	...	17½	...	...	...	...	...
9 Tuwar	34	...	35	...	35	...	34	...	...	...	...	...
10 Salt 1	13	1	12	1	14	1	13	...	...	...	...	...

AZAMGUNJ MARKET

Kind	I Class				II Class				III Class			
	Buying.		Selling.		Buying.		Selling.		Buying.		Selling.	
	Mnd.	Srs.	Mnd.	Srs.	Mnd.	Srs.	Mnd.	Srs.	Mnd.	Srs.	Mnd.	Srs.
	Shahjahani				Shahjahani				Shahjahani			
1. Wheat												
(sic)	...	29	...	28	...	30	...	35	...	...	...	...
(sic)	...	30	...	29½	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
2. Nakhud												
(Gram)	...	39	...	38	1	...	...	39	...	...	...	...
3. Jawari	1	1	1	...	1	2	1	1	1	5	1	4
4. Bajri												
(Millet)	...	37½	...	36½	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
5. Mung	...	17	...	16	...	18	...	17	...	...	...	...
6. Lentils	...	36	...	35	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
7. (sic)	1	8½	1	7½	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
8. Sesame	...	17½	...	16½	...	18½	...	17½	...	...	...	...
9. Salt	1	15	1	14	1	16	1	15	...	...	...	...

BEGUMPURA MARKET

Kind	I Class				II Class				III Class			
	Buying		Selling		Buying.		Selling.		Buying.		Selling.	
	Mnd.	Srs.	Mnd.	Srs.	Mnd.	Srs.	Mnd.	Srs.	Mnd.	Srs.	Mnd.	Srs.
	Shahjahani				Shahjahani				Shahjahani			
1. Wheat												
(sic)	...	29	...	28	...	30	...	29	...	...	...	...
(sic)	...	30	...	29	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
2. Nakhud												
(Gram)	...	39	...	38	1	...	...	39	...	...	...	...
3. Jawari	1	1	1	...	1	2	1	1	1	5	1	4
4. Bajri												
(Millet)	...	38	...	37	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
5 Mung	...	17	...	16	...	18	...	17	...	19	...	18
6. Mash	...	24	...	23	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
7. Lentils	...	36	...	35	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
8: (sic)	1	8	1	7	1	9	1	8	...	...	...	...
9. Sesame	...	17	...	16	...	18	...	17	...	...	...	...
10. Kattha	...	18	...	17	...	19	...	18	...	...	...	19
11. Tuwar	...	34	...	33	...	35	...	34	...	...	...	...
12 Salt	1	15	1	14	1	16	1	15	...	20	...	...

**Statement showing the Buying and Selling Rates of Grains etc.,
in Chalni Rupees in different Markets of
Aurangabad City.**

Kind	C L A S S							
	I		II		III		IV	
	Buy- ing	Sell- ing	Buy- ing	Sell- ing	Buy- ing	Sell- ing	Buy- ing	Sell- ing
	Srs. Shahjahani	Srs. Shahjahani	Srs. Shahjahani	Srs. Shahjahani	Srs. Shahjahani	Srs. Shahjahani	Srs. Shahjahani	Srs. Shahjahani
1. Dals etc ,	15	14	16	15	...	...	...	...
-Mung.								
-Mash.	22	21	...	...	...	...	...	...
-Lentils	31	30	...	...	...	...	...	...
-Nakhud								
-Dal	31	30	...	...	...	...	...	...
-Flour	27	26	...	...	...	...	...	...
2. What-flour								
(raw)	25	24	41	26				
Nakhud-flour								
(raw)								
(Gram)	34	33	...	...	...	...	...	...
3. Jaggery	17	16	18	17	19	18½	20	19½
4. Sugar								
Of Kuri	5	5	...	...	...	...	...	...
Of Phulmeri	6½	6½	...	...	...	...	...	...
Of Raipuri	9	9	...	...	...	...	...	...
(sic)	12	11	...	...	...	...	...	...

C L A S S

	I		II		III		IV	
Kind	Buy- ing	Sell- ing	Buy- ing	Sell- ing	Buy- ing	Sell- ing	Buy- ing	Sell- ing
	Srs. Shahjahani	Srs. Shahjahani	Srs. Shahjahani	Srs. Shahjahani	Srs. Shahjahani	Srs. Shahjahani	Srs. Shahjahani	Srs. Shahjahani

5. Ghee

Fresh	3½	3	3	3	...	...	...	...
Old Stock (Last year)	4	3	...	...	...	...	...	...

6. Oil

Seasame	8	7	8	8	...	...	...	...
Mustard	5	5	...	...	...	...	...	...

7. Kanjarah

§ Buying Selling

8. Rice

(sic)

§ 10 Tankas per maund 11 Tankas per maund

9. Refined flour

§ The entry of these items is not included in
§ this schedule and shall be given later

6.

19th Shawwal, 1072 A. H. 5th regnal year.
 (28th May 1662 A. D.) Wednesday.

Schedule of exchange and market rates of commodities at Aurangpur
 from 13th to 19th Shawwal 5th Julus

No.	Kind	Rate per Rupee.	
		Tankas.	Dams.
1.	Rupia (a) Aurangshahi	15	37½
	(Rupee) (b) Shahjahani	15	31½
		Mnds.	Srs.
2.	Wheat flour	1	½
3.	Mung	...	20
4.	Ghee	...	3 $\frac{5}{8}$
5.	Rice	...	17
6.	Sugar	...	10
7.	Salt	...	37½
8.	Firewood	13	...

**Schedules of exchange rates of Ashrafis, Rupees and other coins, together
with rates of grains and other commodities prevailing at
the fort of Fathabad Dharur.**

GOLD COINS

No.	Name	Kind	Rate of Exchange.					
			Buying			Selling		
1.	Ashrafi	(a) Shahjahani.	Rs.	14	12 0	Rs.	14	11 0
		(b) Akbari.	Rs.	14	14 0	Rs.	14	13 0
2.	Hun.	(a) Achut Rai	Rs.	4	1 0	Rs.	4	0 6
		(b) Badshahi	Rs.	3	12 9	Rs.	3	12 6

BULLION Etc ,

Sl. No,	Name	Kind	Rate per Tola					
			Buping			Sellin.		
1.	Gold							
	Ashrafi.		Rs.	15	9 0	Rs.	15	8 0
2.	Silver							
			Rate per Rupee					
			Buying			Selling		
			12 Mashas.			11½ Masha.		

BULLION Etc.,

Name	Kind	Rate per Tola			
Sl No.		Buying.		Selling.	
3.	Rupee	Copper coins per Rupee			
		Buying		Selling	
		Tankas. Dams.		Tankas. Dams.	
	a) Shahjahani	15	$43\frac{3}{4}$	15	37
	b) Aurangshahi	15	$43\frac{3}{4}$	15	37
	c) Chalni	15	25	15	$18\frac{3}{4}$
	d) Golcondi	15	$37\frac{1}{2}$	15	$31\frac{1}{2}$

GRAINS etc.,

Sl.	Kind.	Rate per Rupee.			
		Buying.		Selling.	
		Mnds.	Pailis.	Mnds.	Pailis
1.	Wheat.	1	$\frac{1}{2}$	...	15 $\frac{1}{2}$
2.	Nakhud (Gram)	1	5	1	4
3.	Jawari (new stock).	1	6	1	5
4.	Tuwar.	1	14	1	12
5.	Adas (Lentil).	1	5	1	4
6.	Lank	1	12	1	11
7.	(sic)	2	8	2	6
8.	(sic)	1	5	1	4
9.	Shali (Paddy)	...	...	1	15
10.	Methi	1	12	1	11
11.	Rai (Mustard)	2	8	2	6
12.	Kunjud (Grain Sesame)	...	14	...	13
13.	Mash.	...	12	...	11
14.	Mung.	1	8	1	7
		Mnds.	Srs.	Mnds.	Srs.
15.	Cotton.	...	26	...	25
16.	Ghee	...	5 $\frac{1}{8}$	...	4 $\frac{7}{8}$
17.	Mung.	...	20	...	19
18.	Tuwar.	1	4	1	2
19.	Adas.	1	6	1	4

GRAINS etc ,

Sl.	Kind.	Rate per Rupee.			
		Buying.		Selling.	
		Mnds.	Seers.	Mnds.	Seers.
20.	Gram.	...	1	...	7/8
21.	Rice (1st quality)	...	16	...	...
	Rice (2nd quality)	...	...	...	...
	Rice (coarse quality)	...	19	...	...
22.	Jaggery.	...	21	...	20
23.	White sugar (1st qty)	...	5½	...	5
24.	Brown Sugar.	...	14	...	13
25.	Raisins	...	3¾	...	3½
26.	Jautri per seer	Rs. 8	8 0	Rs. 9	2 0
27.	Jauz (Nutmug) per seer.	Rs. 3	2 0	Rs. 3	4 0
28.	Yarn (Coarse)	...	4½	...	4 Seers.
29.	(sic)				
	(1st qty).	...	8½	...	8 „
30.	Cinnamon. per seer.	Rs. 4	12 0	Rs. 5	2 0
31.	Cardamoms. „	Rs. 1	3 0	Rs. 1	4 0
32.	(sic)	...	2¼	...	2½ Seers.
33.	(sic)	...	11	...	10 „
34.	Zira (Pollen).	...	5½	...	5 „
35.	Wheat flour.	...	35	...	32½ „

GRAINS etc.,

Sl.	Kind	Rate per Rupee.	
		Buying.	Selling.
		Mnds. Seers	Mnds. Seers
36.	Ardawa (coarsely ground wheat or barley) per 25 Dams.	... 1 $\frac{3}{8}$	... 1 $\frac{1}{4}$
37.	Dry dates.	... 6	... 5 $\frac{3}{4}$
38.	Raihan seeds	... 5 $\frac{1}{4}$	... 5
39.	Abrak (Mica)	... 5 $\frac{1}{4}$	... 5
40.	Salt	... 37 $\frac{1}{2}$	... 35
41.	Kangni	... 1 $\frac{3}{8}$	... 1 $\frac{1}{4}$
42.	(sic)	... 7	... 6 $\frac{1}{2}$
43.	Dry Ginger.	... 9	... 8
44.	Zard Chob (Turmeric)	... 11	... 10
	(sic)	... 20	... 19
45.	Satt-e-Siah.	... 14	... 13
46.	Samandar-Phal (Fruit used as a drug).	... 1 $\frac{1}{2}$	... 1 $\frac{3}{8}$
47.	(sic)	... 11	... 10
48.	(sic) per seer.	Rs. 7 0 0	Rs. 7 8 0
49.	(sic)	... 2 $\frac{1}{4}$	... 2 Seers.
50.	Hartal (Orpiment) per seer.	Rs. 1 4 0	Rs. 1 6 0

GRAINS etc.,

Sl.	Kind	Rate per Rupee.	
		Buying.	Selling.
		Mnds. Seers	Mnds. Seers
51.	Kababchini (Cubebs).	... 5½	... 5
52.	Qalai per seer,	Rs. 1 2 0	Rs. 1 3 0
53.	Shanjraf (Red Sulphate of mercury) per seer.	Rs. 7 0 0	Rs. 7 8 0
54.	Soap.	... 6	... 5½ Seers.
55.	Kattha.	... 4½	... 4½ "
56.	Baodrang (a species of large cucumber).	... 10	... 9 "
57.	Lead.	... 2½	... 2 "
58.	Ud (Wood aloes) 1st quality. per seer.	Rs. 3 2 0	Rs. 3 4 0
59.	Anguza (Asafoetida) 1st quality. per seer.	Rs. 2 6 0	Rs. 2 8 0
60.	Surkhak (The cornel tree or fruit).	... 30	... 25 Seers.
61.	Opium. per seer.	Rs. 6 0 0	Rs. 5 1 2 0

GRAINS etc.,

Sl.	Kind	Rate per Rupee.			
		Buying		Selling	
		Mnds.	Seers.	Mnds.	Seers.
62.	Sulphur.	...	1	...	$\frac{3}{4}$
63.	(sic)	...	2	...	$1\frac{3}{4}$
64.	Qaranful (clove)				
	per seer.	Rs. 7	0 0	Rs. 7	8 0
65.	Hirakasis (Sulphate of iron).	...	$2\frac{3}{4}$	...	$2\frac{1}{2}$
66.	Lakh (sealing wax)	...	$1\frac{5}{8}$	...	$1\frac{1}{2}$
67.	Pipalmur (Root of long pepper tree)	...	2	...	$1\frac{3}{4}$
68.	Sutli.	...	7	...	6
69.	Supari (1st qlty).	...	$4\frac{1}{2}$	...	$4\frac{1}{4}$
70.	(sic)	...	8	...	7
71.	(sic)	...	$1\frac{1}{4}$	...	1
72.	Babul (Accasia bark) per 25 Dams.	...	$3\frac{1}{2}$	...	3
73.	(sic)	...	0	...	$18\frac{3}{4}$
74.	Ritha (Soap nut)	...	16	...	15
75.	Misri (Sugar candy)	...	$2\frac{1}{2}$	...	$2\frac{1}{4}$

GRAINS etc.,

Sl.	Kind.	Rate per Rupee	
		Buying.	Selling.
		Mnds. Seers.	Mnds. Seers.
76.	(sic)	... 9	... 8
77.	(sic)	... 8	... 7
18.	(sic)	... 21	... 28
79.	(sic)	... 7	... 6
80.	Sumbul (Hyacinth)		
	per seer.	Rs. 1 3 0	Rs. 1 4 0
81.	Sumbul Draz.	... 1½	... 1
82.	Bhilavan (Malaca bean)		
	per 25 dams	... 2	... 1½ "
83.	Indirjav (a kind		
	of plant).	... 8	... 7
84.	Kawast (Colocynth)	... 2½	... 2½
85.	(sic)	... 3½	... 3
86.	Aqir-qarha (Pe-		
	llitory).	... 1	... ¾
87.	(sic)	... 10	... 9
88.	(sic)	... 6½	... 6
89.	Musabbir (Aloe)	... 3½	... 3
90.	(sic) per 25 dams.	... 1	... ¾
91.	(sic)	... 10	... 9
92.	(sic)	... 16	... 15

GRAINS etc.,

Sl.	Kind.	Rate per Rupee			
		Buying.		Selling.	
		Mnds.	Seers.	Mnds.	Seers.
93.	(sic)	...	2	...	$1\frac{3}{4}$
94.	(sic)	...	10	...	$9\frac{1}{4}$
95.	(sic)	...	20	...	$19\frac{1}{4}$
96.	(sic)	...	2	...	$1\frac{3}{4}$
97.	Ajwain (a kind of aniseed).	...	24	...	22
98.	(sic)	...	20	...	19
99.	(sic) per 25 dams.	...	$1\frac{3}{8}$	...	$1\frac{1}{4}$
100.	(sic) 1st quality.	...	2	...	$1\frac{3}{4}$
	2nd quality	...	$1\frac{3}{8}$	...	$1\frac{1}{4}$
101.	Dry Ginger (Pickled in lemon juice).	...	$1\frac{1}{2}$	...	$4\frac{1}{4}$
	Dry Ginger (Pickled in Ginger juice).	...	$4\frac{1}{2}$	...	$4\frac{1}{4}$
102.	(sic) 1st quality.	...	12	...	11
103.	Karhela Oil.	...	14	...	13
104.	Kanjara 1st quality. (oil cake).	1	35	1	30
	Kanjara 2nd quality. (oil cake).	4	3	3	35

GREENS.

Sl.	Kind.	Rate per Rupee			
		Buying.		Selling.	
		Mnd.	Seers.	Mnd.	Seers.
105.	Dry Onions.	...	2½	...	2
106.	Ginger.	...	11	...	10
107.	Brinjals per 25 dams.	...	2½	...	2
108.	Betel leaves per 100.	...	...	...	...

**Schedules of the buying and selling rates of coins and other
commodities at the Udgir Market**

COINS

No.	Name	Kind.	Rate of Exchange.	
			Buying	Selling
1.	Hun.	(a) Badshahi.	According to previous rates.	
		(b) Achut Rai etc.	"	"
2.	Rupee.	(a) Alai.	16 T' kas 25 D's. 16T' as 12½ Ds'	
		(b) Golcondi Shah-		
		jahani.	16 "	12½ " 16 " 12½ "
		(c) Chalni.	16 "	15 " 37½ "

GRAINS etc.

Sl. No.	Name	Rate per Exchange			
		Buying.		Selling.	
		Mnd. Srs.		Mnd. Srs.	
1.	Wheat.	1	28	1	25 $\frac{7}{8}$
2.	Nakhud (Gram)	2	13 $\frac{1}{2}$	2	10 $\frac{1}{2}$
3.	Jawari.	3	22 $\frac{3}{8}$	2	19 $\frac{1}{8}$
4.	Ghee	5Srs 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ Dams. 4 $\frac{3}{4}$ Srs 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ Dams.			
5.	Sesame Oil.	12	$\frac{3}{8}$ Srs.	11	$\frac{1}{8}$ Srs.
6.	Linseed Oil.	16 $\frac{1}{2}$	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	14 $\frac{1}{2}$	2 $\frac{1}{2}$
7.	Karhila Oil	16 $\frac{1}{2}$	"	14 $\frac{1}{2}$	"
8.	Kararh Oil. (Safflower Oil)	15 $\frac{1}{2}$	8	13 $\frac{1}{2}$	8
9.	(sic)	16 $\frac{1}{4}$	Srs.	14 $\frac{1}{4}$	Srs.

6. 22nd to 25th Muharram 1073 A. H. 5th regnal year

(28th to 31st August 1662 A. D) Thursday.

COINS

Rates of Exchange.

Sl. No.	Name	Kind.	Buying.	Selling
1.	Hun.	a) Badshahi.	3 Rupees 12 Tankas 37½ Dams.	3 Rs 13 Tankas 25 Dams.
		b) Achut Rai etc.	According to the former rates.	
2.	Rupee	a) Alai.	16 Tankas 25 Dams.	16 Tankas 12½ Dams.
		b) Golcondi etc.	16 " 2½ "	" " " Dams
		c) Chalni.	16 Tankas	15 Tankas 37½ Dams.

GRAINS etc.

Sl. No.	Name	Rate per Rupee.			
		Buying.		Selling.	
		Mnds.	Seers.	Mnds.	Seers.
1.	Wheat.	1	34 $\frac{1}{4}$	1	31 $\frac{7}{8}$
2.	Nakhud (Gram)	2	9 $\frac{5}{8}$	2	6 $\frac{3}{4}$
3.	Jawari.	2	24 $\frac{1}{2}$	2	21 $\frac{1}{4}$
4.	Ghee.		5		4 $\frac{3}{4}$
5.	Salt		31 $\frac{7}{8}$		26 $\frac{7}{8}$
6.	Sesame oil.		12 $\frac{3}{8}$		11 $\frac{1}{8}$
7.	Linseed.		16 $\frac{1}{2}$		14 $\frac{1}{2}$
8.	Kararh (Safflower)		15 $\frac{3}{4}$		13 $\frac{3}{4}$
9.	(?)		16 $\frac{1}{4}$		14 $\frac{1}{4}$

(5th to 8th March 1663 A. D) Thursday.

COINS.

Sl. No.	Name	Rate of Exchange	
		Buying	Selling
1.	Hun.		
	a) Achut Rai	Rs. 4 As. 14	Rs. 4 As. 15
	b) Badshahi	Rs. 3 10 Tankas 25 Dams.	Rs. 3 11 Tankas 12½ Dams.
2.	Rupee		
	a) Alamgiri.	16 Tankas 25 Dams.	16 Tankas 12½ Dams.
	b) Golcondi & Shahjahani,	16 „ 12½	16 „
	c) Chalni	16 „ 15 „	37½ „

GRAINS ect.

Sl. No.	Name	Rate per Rupee.			
		Buying.		Selling.	
		Mnds.	Seers	Mnds.	Seers.
1.	Wheat	2	11 $\frac{1}{4}$	2	8 $\frac{1}{4}$
2.	Nakhud (Gram)	2	19	2	15
3.	Jawari	2	19 $\frac{1}{4}$	2	16 $\frac{1}{4}$
4.	Jaggery 1st quality		15		14
	2nd "		15 $\frac{7}{8}$		14 $\frac{7}{8}$
	3rd "		17		16
5.	Sesame		16 $\frac{1}{8}$		14 $\frac{1}{8}$
6.	Black Sesame		16 $\frac{3}{4}$		14 $\frac{1}{2}$
7.	Karhila		16 $\frac{3}{4}$		14 $\frac{1}{2}$
8.	Linseed		20		16 $\frac{5}{8}$
9.	Kararh (Safflower)		20 $\frac{1}{2}$		17 $\frac{3}{8}$

APPENDIX V

ADILSHAHI URDU.

Mian Nusrati.

The origin of Urdu language is still a baffling subject, an unsettled controversy. The Muslims came to South India in the middle of the 7th century as traders and settled down along the Malabar coast. They spoke Arabic and their counterparts in India, Dravidian languages. Urdu, as is accepted by linguists and scholars, could not have been born out of these contacts. For, Urdu is essentially an Aryan language with a strong base of Persian, The other viewpoint that Urdu as a 'Lashkari' with Punjabi and Haryana mingled and absorbed in Persian was born in the Northern India seems to be almost an accepted theory.

There is however another historical angle, which does not appear to have been taken care of. Namely, that sometime during the 6th and 7th century, as a result of prosecution by the Quranic Muslims, thousands of Persian speaking families of Persia, who worshipped fire, professed a different religious faith and spoke Persian, came and settled down on the Gujarat coast, known as Parsis, they came in close contact with the locals and there is every liklihood that here Urdu may have been born. Today the Parsi language appears to be different from Urdu but a close examination with the Deccani Urdu may reveal intimate affinity and characteristic resemblances — a field unexplored so far.

With the establishment of the Bahmani kingdom in 1347 A.D. commenced a new chapter in the life story of the Deccan. Many Muslims from the North and the other parts of the country came and

settled and rallied round the Bahmani flag. They brought with them, among other things, Persian, the Lashkari and the Urdu which may have been born in the Gujarat. Mass-contact on an extensive scale, and for centuries gave birth to the Deccani Urdu, which slowly grew up under the fondest paternal care of the rulers. Imbibing a good many words of the local Marathi, Telugu and Kannada languages, even the local literary traditions and patterns, Urdu or Hindustani with the Persian base grew into a literary language of many splendours, producing prose and poetry of exquisite diction and extraordinary dimensions.

Dr. Gopi Chand Narang honestly arrested that it was in the Deccan that the literary Urdu was first born. It was here that the first book of Urdu was written. And again it is here that the first Urdu Masnavi, Gazal, Qasida and Rubaee came to be written in the form, which has remained unchanged for ages. The first Urdu poet Wali belonged to this table land called the Deccan.

The first among the Muslims to rule the Deccan were the Bahmanids. During their period many Urdu poets and writers flourished at Gulbarga and Bidar. The first Urdu book was written in 1398 A.D. by Khwaja Bande Nawaz in Gulbarga. This book, Mairaj ul Ashaqin is one of the best written books on mysticism. Among poets were Ashraf, Nizami, Lutofi, Firoz and Mushtaq.

Like all other kingdoms of the world the Bahmani dynasty broke into five different kingdoms, Bijapur and Golkonda, among these, lasted for two hundred years, in which period Urdu developed into a great literary vehicle of expression, while in the North it was still the old 'Lashkari'.

The Bijapur Sultans had singularly adapted themselves to the local conditions. In faith, religion, customs, rituals, dress, food, music, painting and architecture they gave much to and absorbed much from the country, they ruled. They patronised the Deccani Urdu and

popularised it among the people. One of their earlier Sultans, Ibrahim Adil Shah II, composed a classical work on music, called Nauras. Ibrahim Nama, written in 1603 by a poet called Abdul is the life story of the Bijapur monarch.

Ali Adil II (1656–1672 A.D.) showered all love and affection on Urdu language and therefore a good many writers and poets came in the foreground. Among those mentioned are Shah Abdul Maani, Mulla Abdur Razaq, Abdul Qadir, Abdul Latif, Abdul Ghani, Mian Hashmi, Mirza Mir Shah and Mian Nusrati. Mian Nusrati, however, is the brightest star on the firmament of the Deccani Urdu.

Mulla Nusrati, the famous Deccani poet, served the Adil Shahi kings, from Mohammed Adil Shah till the time of Sikander Adil Shah. Mulla Nusrati belonged to a respectable Jagirdar family of Bijapur. His father, according to his own version, was a Siledar. His close association with the Bijapur Court dates back to the accession of Ali Adil Shah in 1656 A.D., when he was called and given a place of honour in the Court. The king patronised him and extended all encouragement of which he himself accepts.

بُلا بھیج بندے کو اس حال میں * نظر کرے مرے بے بہا مال میں

Bulla bhaij bande ko is hal mai, Nazar kare mere be baha mal me;

پرکھتا چلا یو رتن سر بہ سر * تہکے دیکھ پارکھ۔ یو اہل نظر

Parakhta Chala u ratan sar ba sar, Thake dekh Parakh u ahele nazar,

نہیں جگ میں بندہ رہے بے نیاز * رکھیا اپنی خدمت میں گر سر فراز

Nahin jag me banda rahe beniaz; Rakhia apni khidmat me kar sarfraz

Mian Nusrati was the biggest Urdu poet of his time. He employed Urdu language, which was still in the formative stage, to create poetic symphonies. On the one hand, he made use of Persian and on the other harmonised it with the local Deccani diction and the

colloquial Hindi. Initially, his poetry was confined to writing eulogies in praise of Mohammed Shah. But, later during the reign of Ali Adil he wrote two books, *Gulshan-i-Ishq* and *Ali Nama*¹.

During the reign of Sikandar he wrote *Sikandar Nama*. In *Gulshan-i-Ishq*, Mian Nusrati has depicted a romantic love episode of Manohar Kunwar and Madhu Malti. His *Ali Namat* is, on the contrary, a continuous story of fifteen years of reign of Ali Adil Shah. The story is all comprehensive and covers all the aspects of reign, Ali Adil's exploits, his wars against the Moghuls and the Marathas, the battles of Malnar and Turgal, his glistening ostentatious court, the prevalent manners and customs, and the loyalty and affection of the people towards their king. Ali Adil's personality projects everywhere in all its colours and one could never expect a bigger image to emerge than this.

In *Sikandar Nama* the heart of the poet sinks. His diction becomes weaker. That majesty which characterised his previous works, vanishes. The poet of conflicts and conquests, glitter and gold, Nusrati finds himself in a poetic depression. Unable to extricate himself from the gloom of the imminent fall of his great masters he inevitably sinks without creating pathos and the much wanted remorse. It does appear that he was essentially a poet of glory, a poet who revels in bloodshed, a poet, to whom conflict in either life or in the battle-field was a nectar that revived his poetic nerves. In the conflagration of fight, trouble and travail, this is one poet like Tulsidas, Firdosi and Maulana Rum, who excels in depiction and creates a battle-field with thunder and storm, agonies and dreadful falls. The sword meets the sword, a killer kills the killer and his hero in all these fights, with undaunted courage, pushes forward to snatch the crown of victory.

In describing battles Nusrati follows a set pattern. First he creates a problem, then the consideration of the problem by his king,

1. *Ali Nama* published by Salar Jung Deccani Publishing Committee and edited by prof. Siddiqi.

consultation and then emerges the would-be-hero. The hero is called upon to take a pledge to face the enemy. The hero makes preparations for the battle, marches and lands a fierce surprise attack. The armies meet, and a sea of bloodshed emerges from the barren fields and the rocky terrain of the Deccan. For appreciation of this technique, a few lines are quoted below describing a situation.

ہوا شہ کی خدمت میں تب بارہام * ملے مسیر و اُمرا و نامی تمام

Howa shai ki khidmat me tab bar-i-aam

Mile Mir-o-Umra o nami tamam;

(The king held a durbar where all were present.)

دکن کے وزیران میں نامی وزیر * بھروسے کے کامان میں نامی وزیر

Deccan ke waziran me nami wazir:

Bharose ke kaman me nami wazir;

(Among those present was the famous minister of the Deccan, who could be relied upon in undertaking responsible tasks.)

شجاعت میں رستم سوانت ہم قرین :- فلاطون ہے تدبیر میں دور بین

Shujaat me Rustom so nit ham qarin;

Fallatun hai tadbir me durbin,

شہنشاہ کا ہمراز خاصان میں خاص :- جسے نام نامی ہے خان خواص

Shahinshah ka hamraz khasan me khas:

Jise nam nami hai Khan Khawas,

(In courage and strength he was Rustom. In wisdom and forethought he was Plato. Special among the specials, the king's confidant was the famous Khan Khwas.)

Khan Khawas is selected, he marches and attacks the enemy when :

چندر جب گگن کے کہستان تے :- خشم لبکے نکلیا بڑی تسان تے

Chander jab gagan ke kohistan te;
Hasham leke nikliya badi shan te,

(Moon appeared from behind the mountains of sky, red-faced with majesty.)

گیا کر سورج کوہ مغرب مین جان :- لگے مارنے شتابان کے بان

Gaya kar suraj koh-i-magrib jan,em
Lage mearne shitaban ke ban,

دھوان نور مین دب نہرالا ہوا :- اندھیرے پہ غالب اُجالا ہوا

Dhuan noor me dab nirala howa;
Andhere pe galib Ujala howa,

(The sun had disappeared in the mountains of the West and a volley of arrows sparkled.)

(Smoke merged in the fire of the arrows cast a special reflection, and the darkness changed into light.)

Then the rivals meet and a battle ensued when the blood flows in streaks like 'Sendur' in the 'mang' of a 'Bahu'.

ہر ایک لڑ چلی لہو کی بھر پور یو :- بھرے مانگ مین بہو کے سیند وز یو

Har ek lad challi lahu ki bharpur yun;
Bhare mang me bah ke sendur yun,

Nusrati creates more activity in the battle-field and says:

برستے تھے یو فوج یک جس پہ وار :- یک یک چک (انکھ) نے تھتے تھے تارے ہزار

Baraste the yun fauj ek jis pe war;
ek ek chuk te tute the tare hazar,

جوانان کے تن میں جھوما جھوم میں :- لگے زخم کاری روما روم میں

Jawana ke tan me jhuma jhum me;
Lage zakam kari rooma rum me,

سلاح پوش تہ دل کا کالا اُبال - برسنے لگیا لہو برسات لال

Silha posh tus dil ka kala ubal ; barasne lagya lahoe barsarthlal.

(The attacks were continuous and fatal. No part of the body of the the soldiers was free from wounds. It looked as if the malice, concealed so far, was bursting out in torrents and it was a real rain of blood -)

Nusrati also shows great imagination while praising God. Some of these lines are memorable :

سکتا ہے دریا کو ماٹی میں داب :- بیون پر بنایا گگن کا سیلاب

Sakat tug hai daryan ko mati me dab, Pawan par banaya gagan ka hubab

سبوں کا سمجھ، تھک رہا ہے یہاں :- کہ یک بڑ بڑے مین بسایا جہان

Sabon ka samaj thak raha hai yahan, keek bure me basaya Jehan.

(It is only He who could harness the rivers under earth and on air create the canopy of sky. All human intelligence is astonished how he has rehabilitated the world on a bubble.)

Again he praises the Almighty thus :

سمندر میں موجان ہتیاران کی فوج :- جواہر کے ہتیار پانی کی موج

Sa-munder me mogan hatyarad ki foug, Jawaear ke hatyar paniki

دیا آگ کے ہاتھ تو خنجر ہزار :- کرے دم بہ دم باد پر تیز دہار

moag Diya ak ke hath tu khanjar hazar, kare dam badam bad par taz dhar.

(The waves of the sea are like the army of sharp weapons, each wave has the edge of a diamond. In the hands of fire, Oh! Almighty, you gave thousand daggers so that it may launch a sharp attack on the atmosphere.)

Nusrati has really produced the best poetry of the age. To create symphony from a language which was in infancy and to sing a long song in rhythm meaning and manner, was only his achievement.

India could be proud of it, the Deccanis are.

Nusrati made ample use of Hindi, he himself admits :

بزرگی ہے ہندی نے اکثر سیکھائی :- و گر نہ تو مضمون کی تہی کاں بڑھائی

Bazurgi hai Hindi ne aksar sikhai wagarna to mazmun ki thi kan badhaee.

(Hindi has often lent maturity, otherwise the subject could not be lofty).

His verbs, adverbs and sometimes adjectives were derived from Hindi or the local languages. There is ample use of words like: Dasna (dikhna) nikalya (nikala) Padya (Pada) Ghadia (Ghada) lagya (laga-) milya (mila) apen (khud) wan (wahan) Sabbon? (ub) Soon (So) Si (Se) ga (go) jan (Jahan) atha (tha) oot (oonehen) kate (Kahte) talak (tak) Bhut (Bahoot) Achu (Acha).

Wherever Nusrati has adopted long metre, the readings and the meanings are both confused. Otherwise, in shorter metres, Nusrati excels anything produced in that age and he was conscious of it. He says :

گہڑیا ہوں سلاست سوں یک یک رتن :- مضامین کے گہر میں انار رتن

Ghadya hon salasat soon ek ek ratan, mazamin ke ghar me utara ratan
About his Ali Nama Nusrati takes pride at that long, continuous, rhythmic composition and very correctly exhorts his countrymen to consider it as their very life.

سخن کا بڑا قدر ہے شہ کے پاس :- کہ جو ہر پر کہتا ہے جو ہر شناس

Sakhun ka bada qadr hai Shah ke pas, ke jowhar parakhta hai jowhar shinas,

کتا ہوں سخن مختصر ہے گمان :- کہ یو شاہ نامہ دکن کا ہے جان

Kata hoon sakhun mukhtasar be guman, ke yu Shahnama Deccan ka hai Jan.

APPENDIX VIII

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The Bijapur Kings



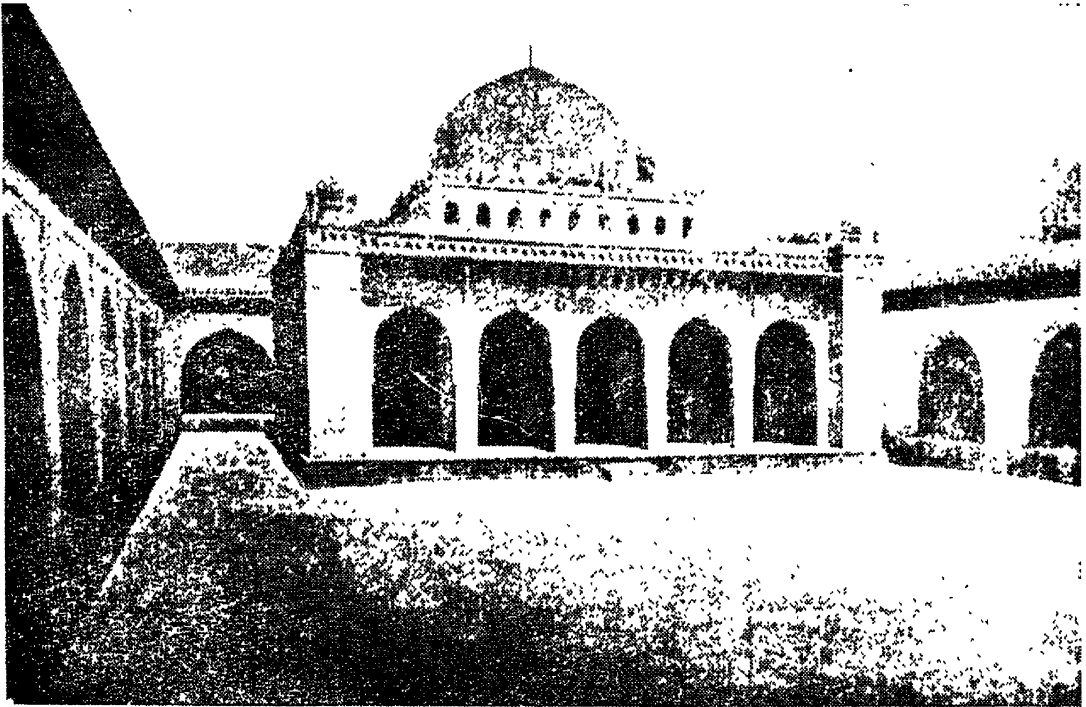
Yusuf Adil Shah
The founder of the Adil Shahi Dynasty.



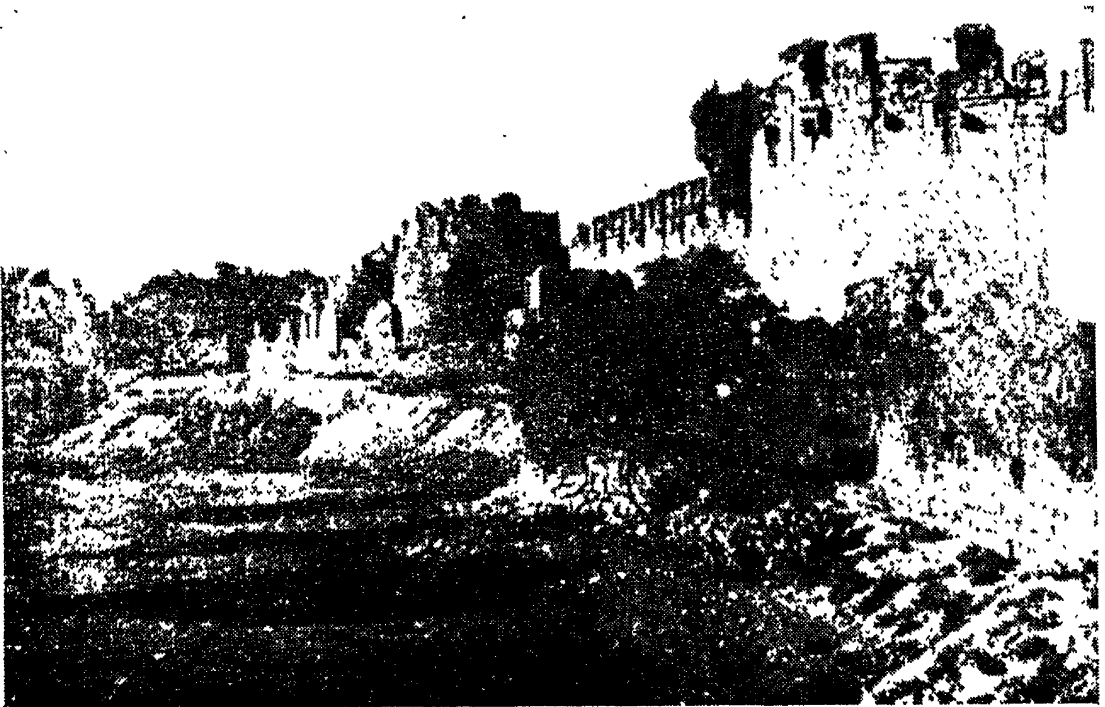
Ibrahim Adil Shah
“ *The builder of Ibrahim Rauza* ”



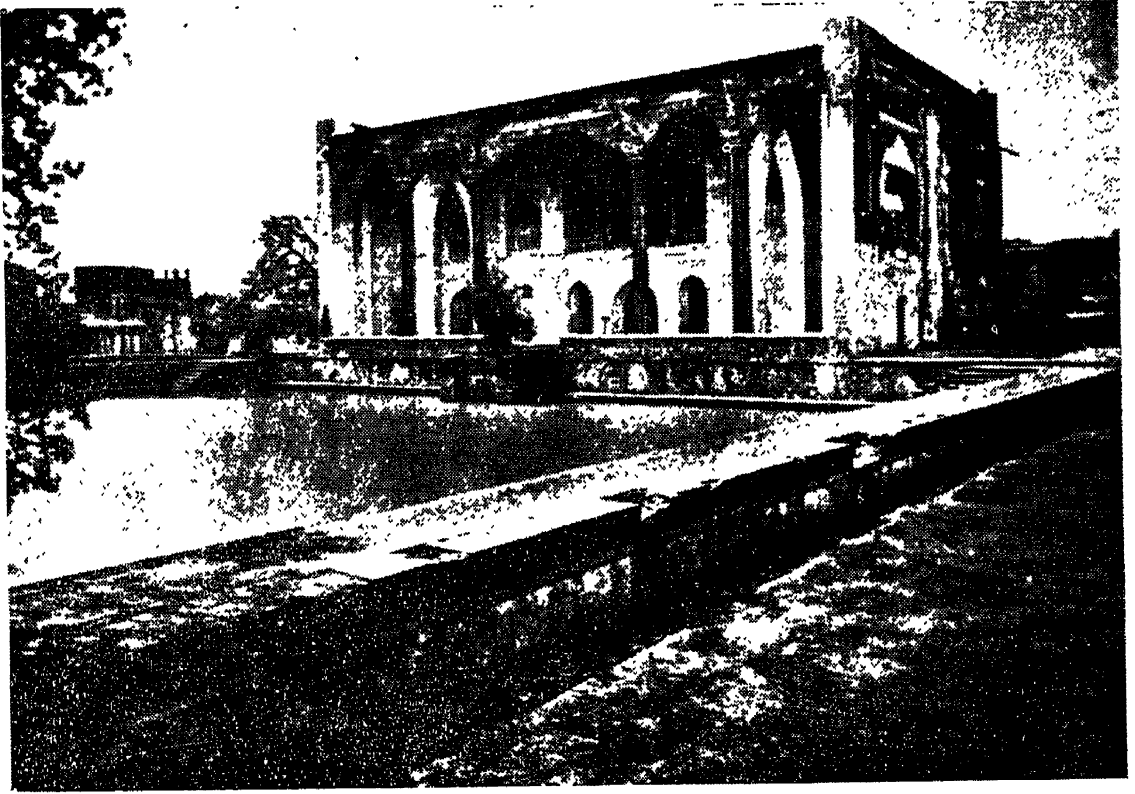
Mumammad Adil Shah
“ The builder of Gol Gumbad ”



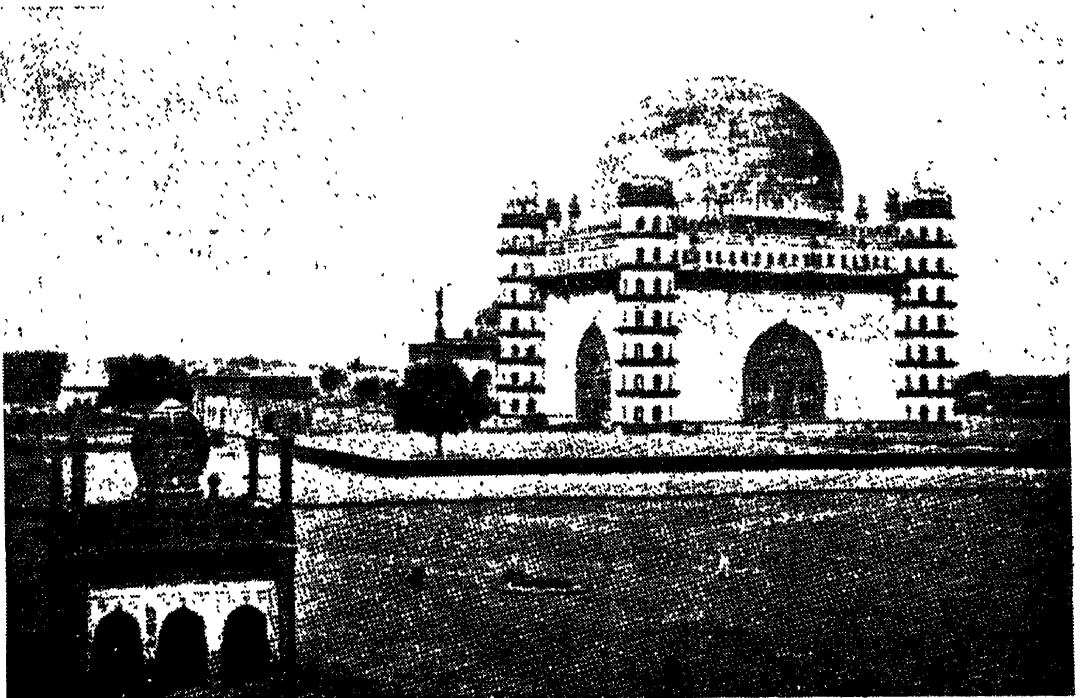
The Makka Masjid



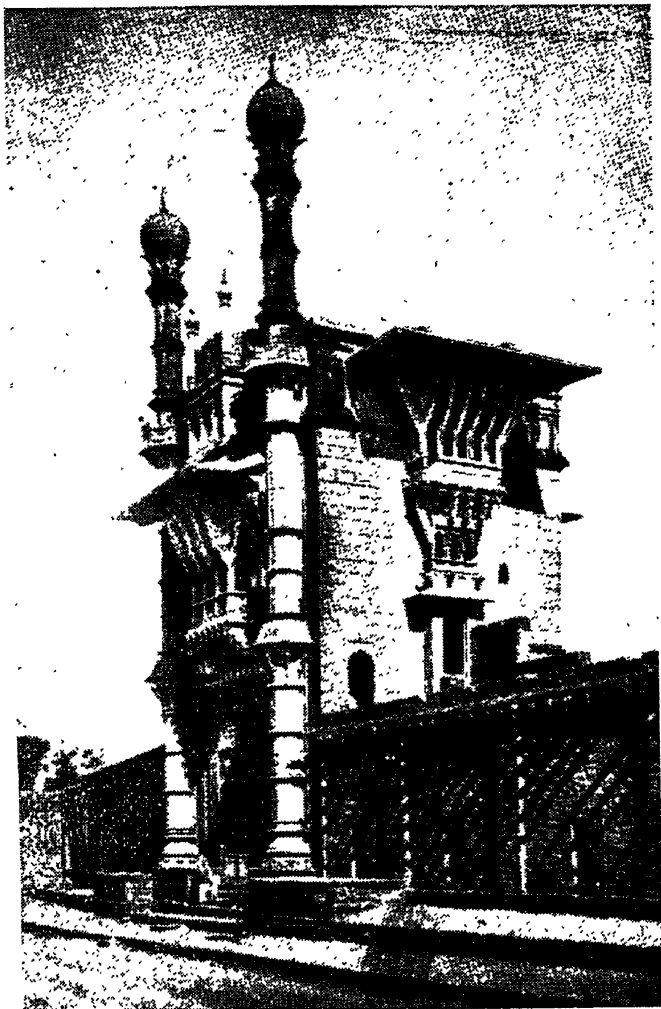
The Walls of the Citadel



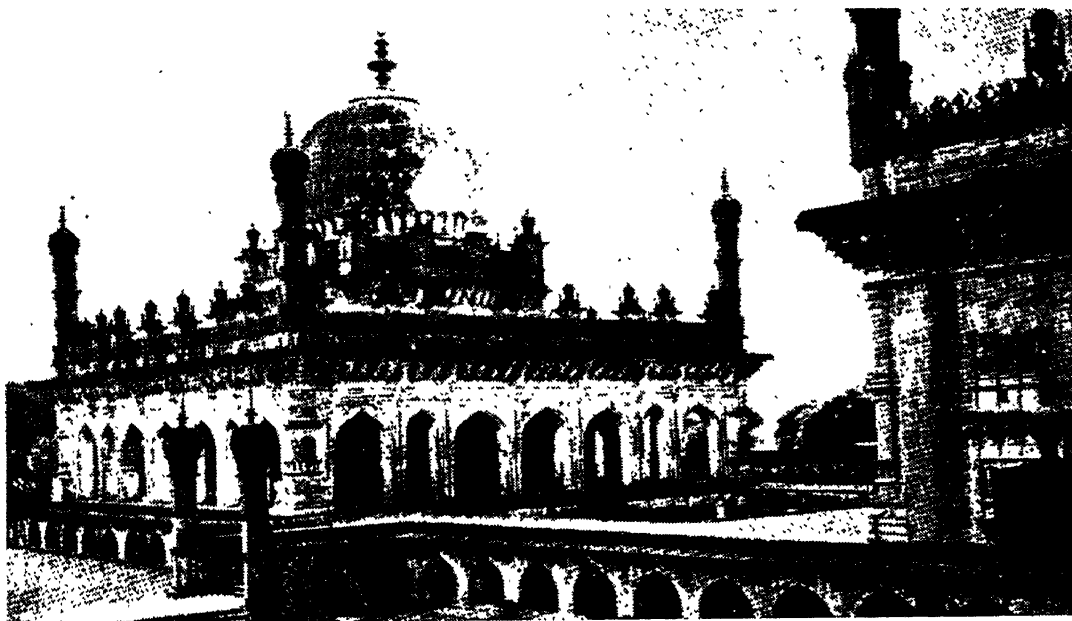
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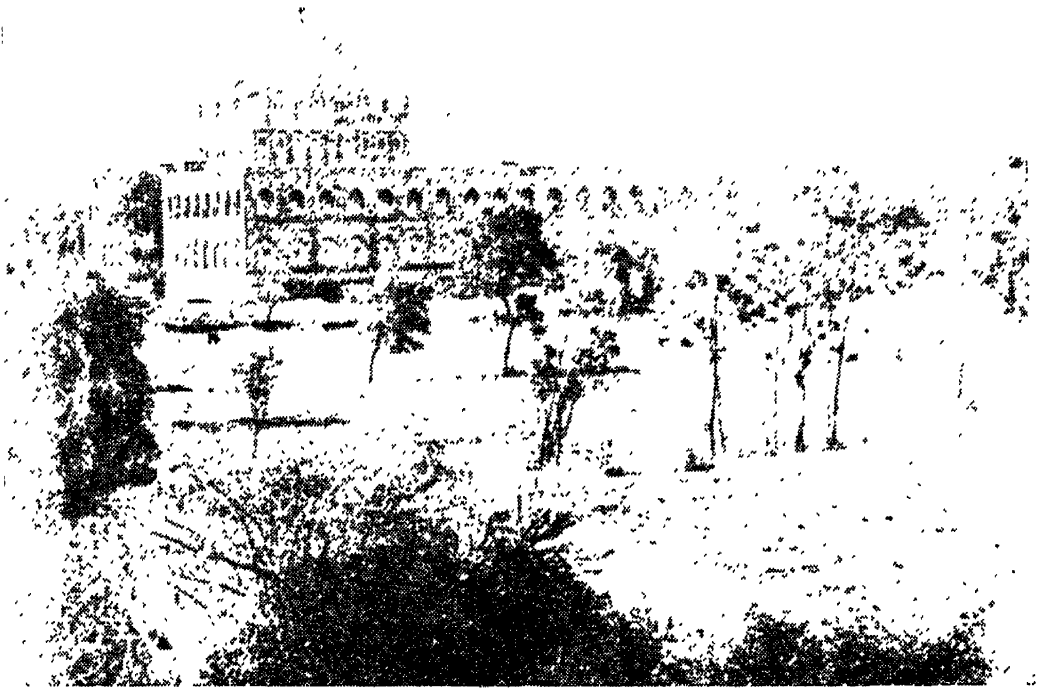
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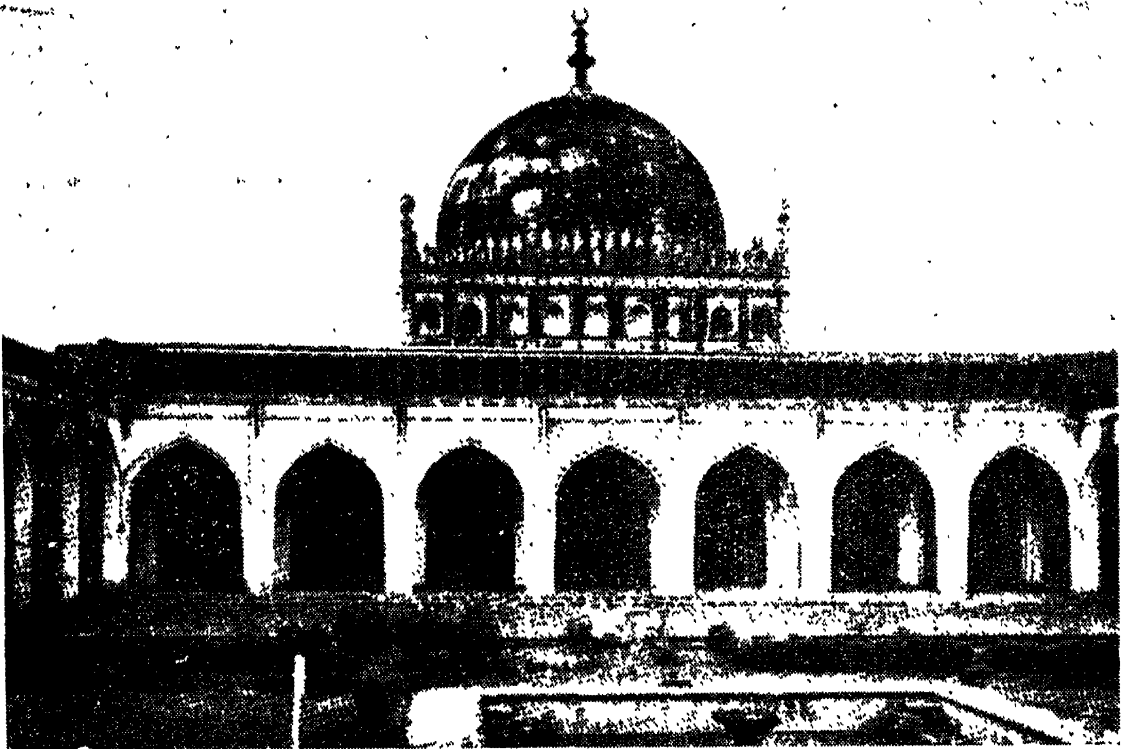
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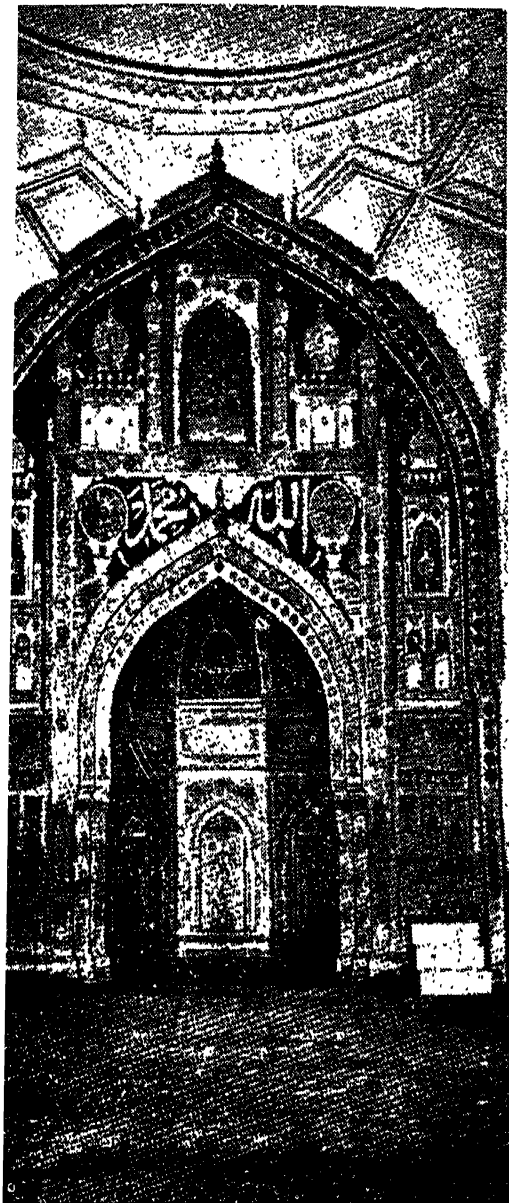
Ibrahim Rouza



The Jami Masjid from the South-West



Jami Masjid



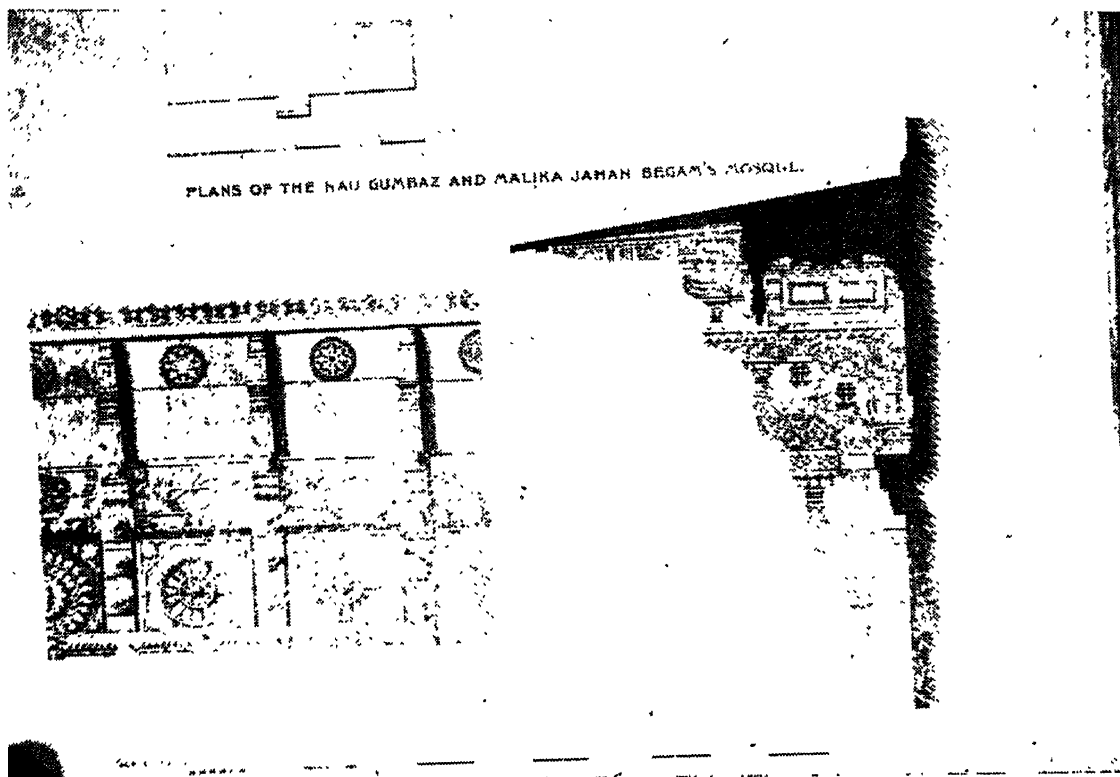
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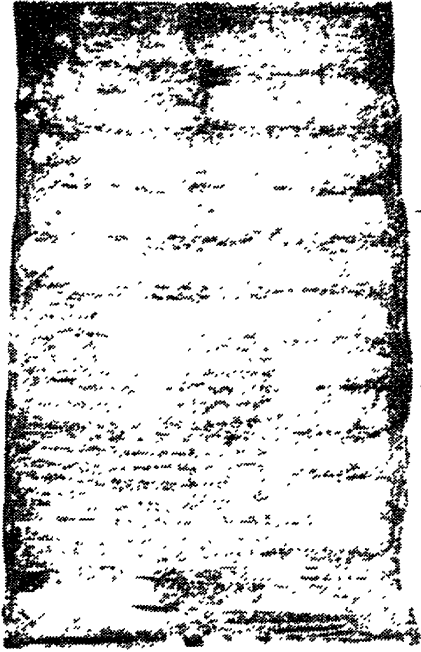
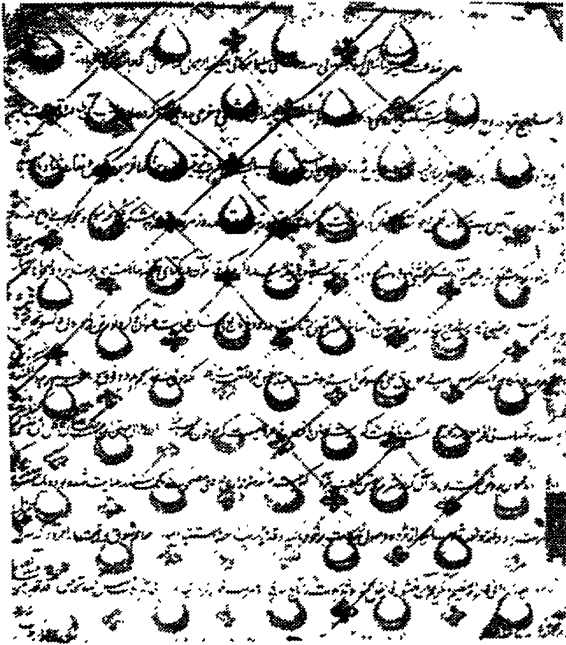
Jami Masjid: Arches of the Front Corridor



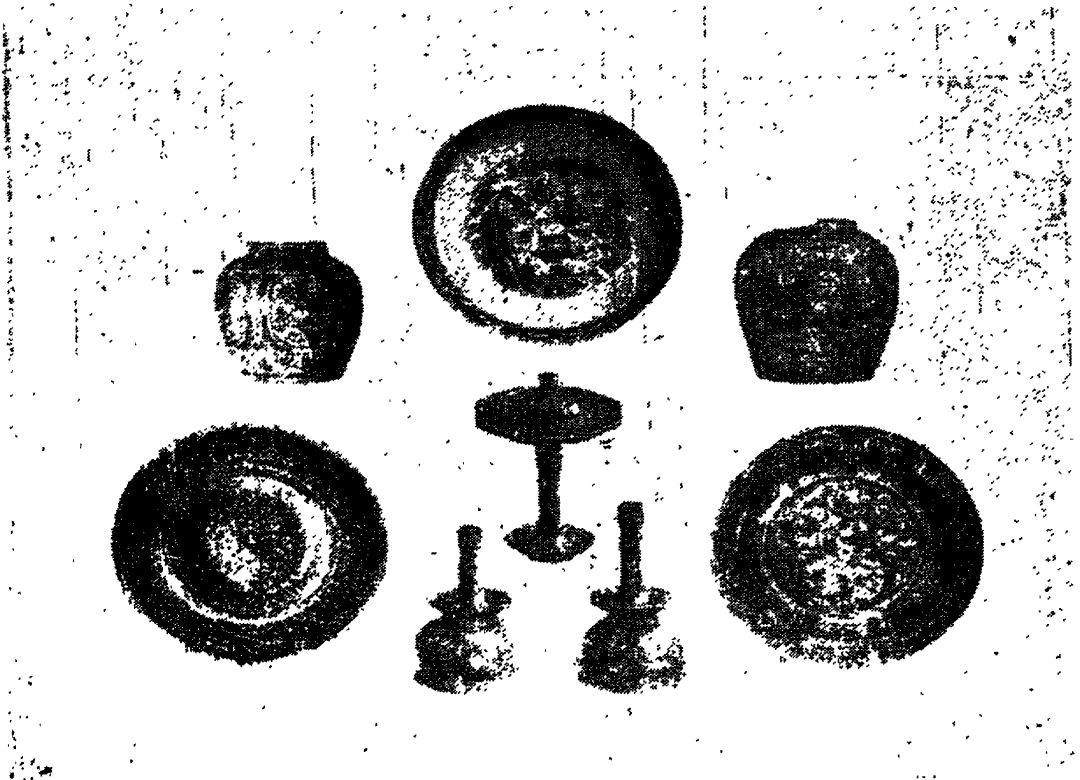
The Walls of the Tomb of Ibrahim Rouza



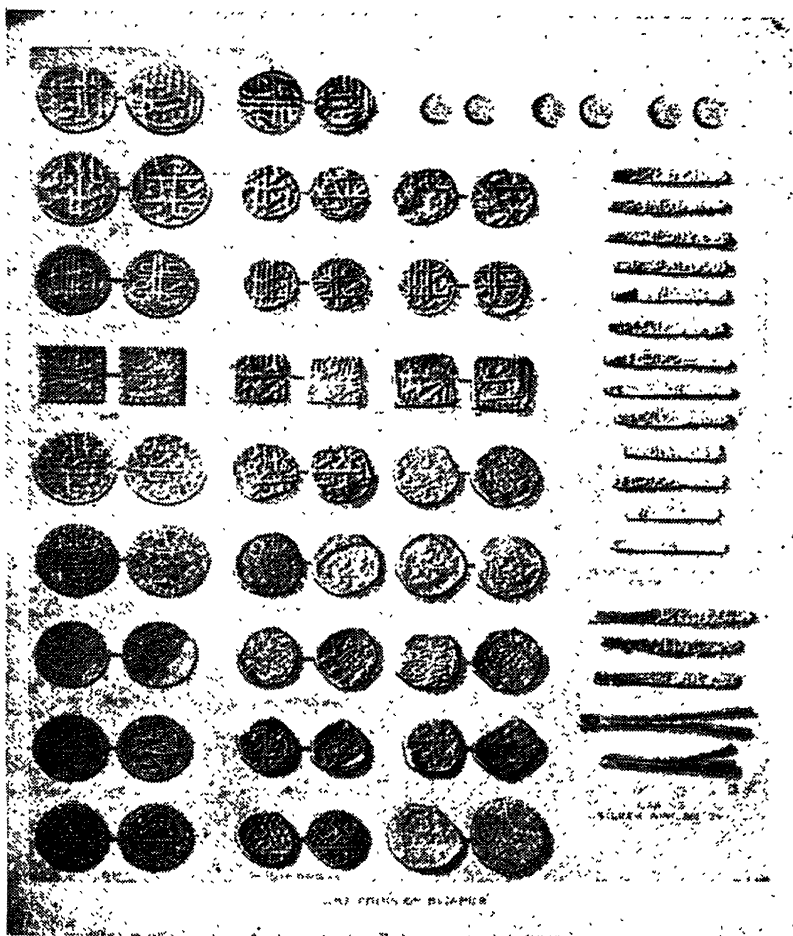
Plans of the Nau Gumbaz and Malika Jahan Begam's Mosque



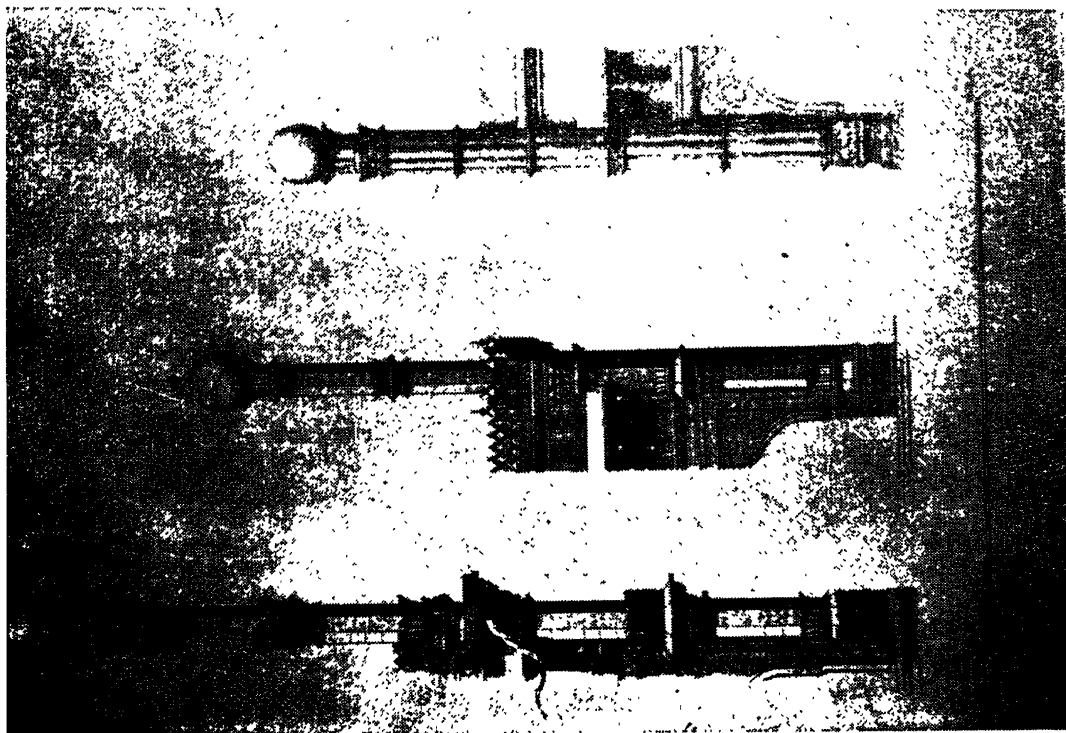
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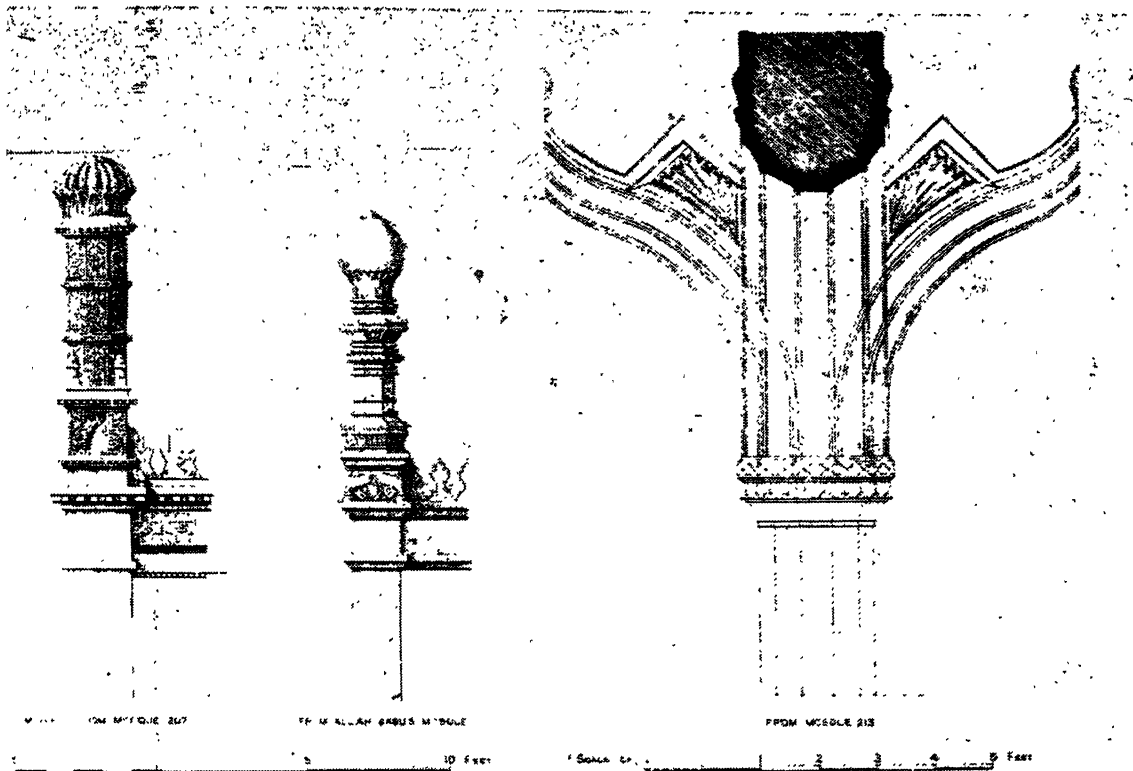
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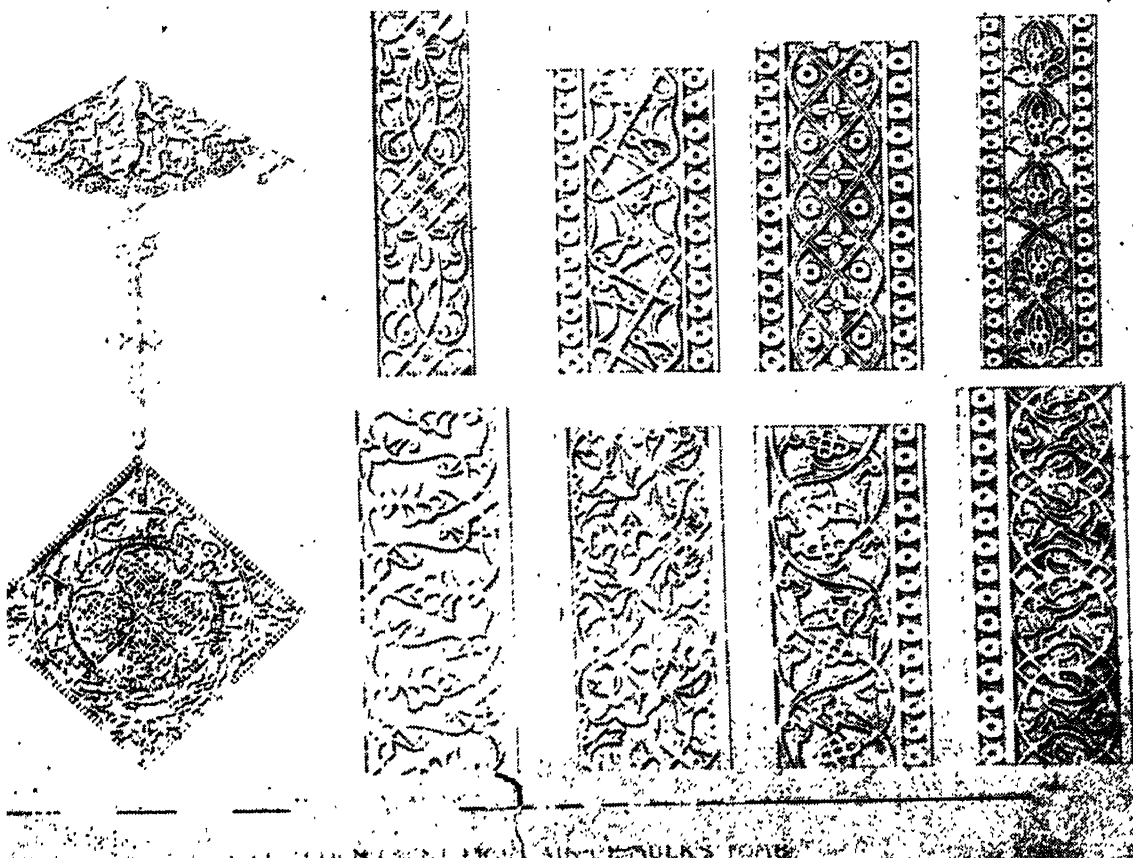
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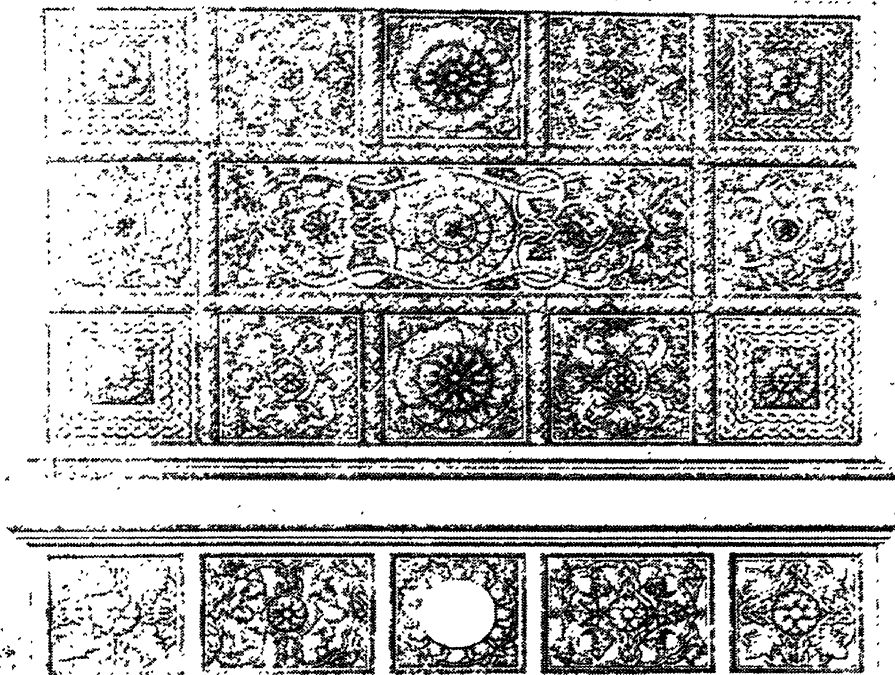


Minarets from Various. Buildings at Bijapur

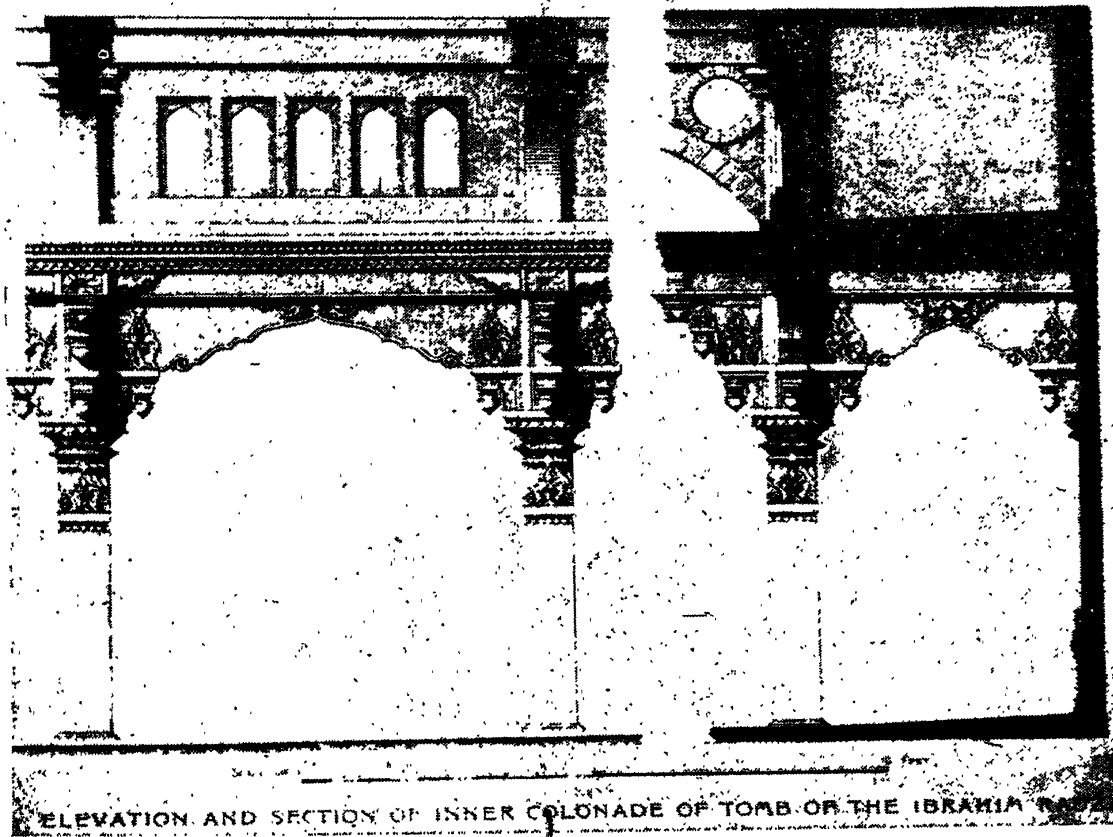


DETAILS FROM ALLAH BABU'S MOSQUE AND MOSQUES NOS. 213 AND 207.

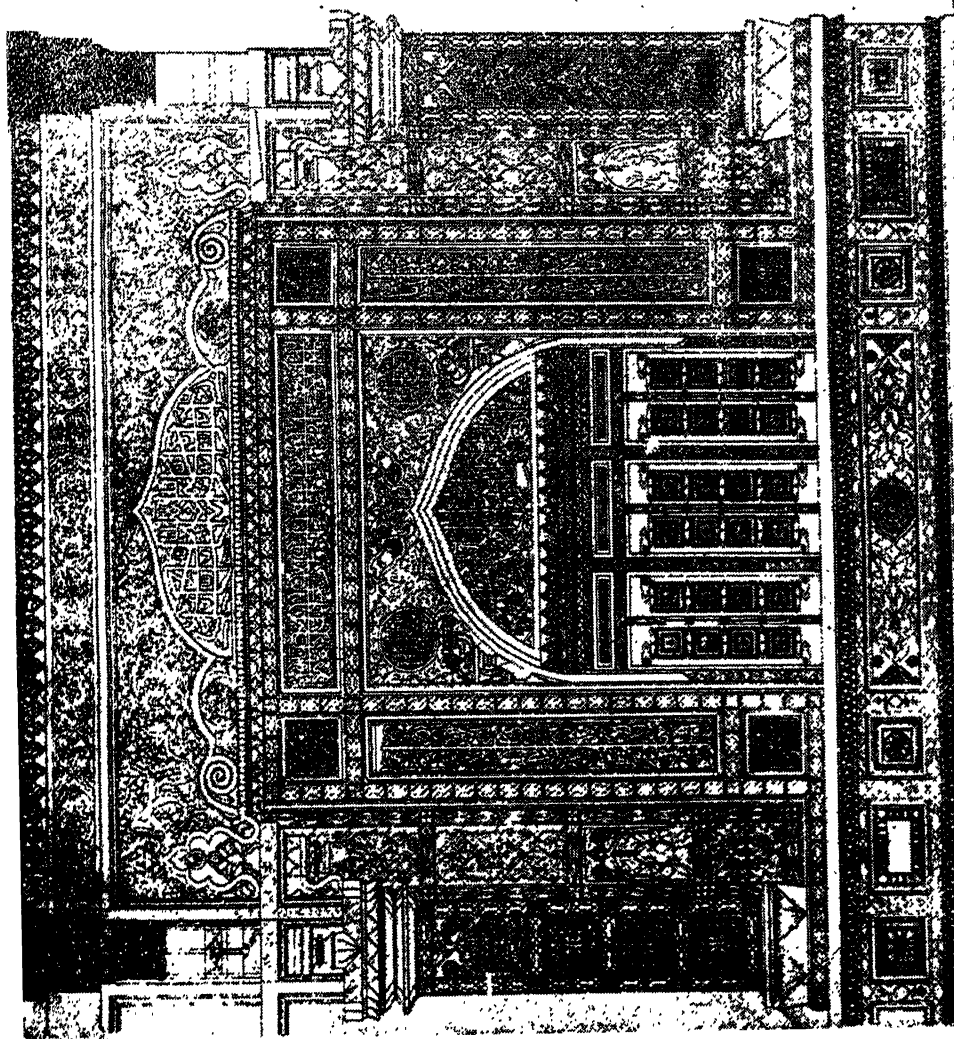




CEILING PANEL FROM THE TOMB OF THE IBRAHIM RAUZA.



ELEVATION AND SECTION OF INNER COLONADE OF TOMB OF THE IBRAHIM RAUZA.



Scale 1/4" = 1' 0"

ELEVATION OF PORTION OF THE WALLS OF THE TOMB OF THE IBRAHIM RAUZA.

ADIL SHAHI DOMINIONS

